Parrots of autumn stay away from the Shay

SOCCER: David Lacey reports on the start of the new season

OF ALL the thousands of words which have greeted the arrival of the new football season none made better commonsense than those written to The Times on Saturday morning by a lady from Marlow who was concerned about the welfare of parrots.

"A happy, healthy and contented parrot," she concluded, "is a time-consuming and expensive luxury but well worth while if the parrot approves of you." If he does not, then presumably he complains of feeling as sick as a footballer and demands a transfer to a gilded cage in Barcelona.

The season has begun parrot-fashion. At Highbury Ron Atkinson, the Manchester United manager, said that the match against Arsenal had been played at 200 miles an hour. George Graham, the new Arsenal manager, was pleased to begin with a 1-0 victory but will take each game as it comes.

Ian Rush, his Winchester repeater working as well as ever, picked off a couple of goals at Newcastle and more than once we learned from the air waves that Liverpool-have-never-lost-a-match-in-which-Rush-has-scored.

For novelty it was necessary to go the The Shay, where Halifax won at home on the opening day of the season for the first time since 1969. Not a lot of people at the game knew that, but then not a lot went — 1,020, the afternoon's lowest attendance on a day which saw a slight increase compared to last season.

Then there was that double-header at Hartlepool, whose Fourth Division match against Cardiff was followed by Middlesbrough's Third Division game with Port Vale, Ayresome Park still being tied up by the receiver.

Have there ever been two draws in two divisions at Hartlepool on the same day? Has anything happened in Hartlepool twice on the same day? The Victoria Ground even became the focal point of the afternoon's hooliganism reports, Cardiff fans ripping out seats at half-time.

Why anyone should travel from Cardiff to Hartlepool to do this will remain one of life's unanswered questions. It seemed to sum up the lack of reason behind the behaviour of those who still cause sporadic trouble at football matches.

An empty bottle was thrown on to the pitch during the game at Highbury but there was no other crowd trouble of the violent kind, although obscene chants before the kick off ruined a minute's silence for the late Sir Stanley Rous. Such gestures at English soccer grounds these days are invariably doomed. You might as well ask for a minute's silence at the Battersea Dogs' Home.

Of those who have spent a lot of money on new players, Southampton had most reason to be pleased, Clarke scoring three of their five goals against Queen's Park Rangers. Clive Allen's hat-trick for Tottenham at Aston Villa promised a better season at White Hart Lane, but the more cautious Spurs fans will bide their time before celebrating in earnest, remembering how the side took one point from their next four fixtures after opening a years ago with a 4-0 win over Watford.

George Graham has already gone on record as doubting Arsenal's ability to do much with their present squad and, even after watching his team defeat Manchester United with a goal by Nicholas 10 minutes from the end, Don Howe's successor refused to get carried away.

"It was encouraging to see certain things happening," he said, "but there's an awful lot of work to be done. I'm not easily pleased and I think we can play a lot better. We're a young side and I'll definitely be strengthening the squad."

Had Graham witnessed the timid performance given by a more experienced Arsenal team in the equivalent fixture 12 months earlier he might have been more encouraged. If Arsenal's performance on Saturday carried a few raw edges, it lacked nothing in commitment or courage.

Rocastle's ability and willingness to carry the ball past defenders on the right wing provided several of the few really exciting moments in an otherwise ordinay game. He is still only 19 and not fully match fit after a cartilage injury but according to Graham, "looks very comfortable on the ball — he's got Continental skills," adding waggishly, "or you could say, Scottish skills."

The latter were also produced by Nicholas, whom Graham intends to play more as an out-and-out striker. "It was nice to see Charlie getting into the box," said the Arsenal manager, "and I'm talking about the six-yard box."

Nicholas's advanced role enabled him to end the stalemate after Robson and Davis had caused confusion in the United defence following a good, early centre from Rix. "All good finishers get these tap-in goals," remarked Graham.

With Hughes in Spain, Robson in convalescence and Olsen on the bench until the goal, United showed little of the inspiration of this time a year ago.

United, in fact, gave the sort of energetic but mundane display that led to Atkinson succeeding Dave Sexton as manager.

ARSENAL — Lukic; Anderson, Sansom, Robson, O'Leary, Adams, Rocastle (Hayes, 85 min), Davis, Nicholas, Quinn, Rix.

MANCHESTER UNITED — Turner; Duxbury, Albiston, Whiteside, McGrath; Moran, Strachan, Blackmore, Stapleton, Davenport, C. Gibson (Olsen 80 Min)

SOCCER RESULTS

FOOTBALL LEAGUE — FIRST DIVISION: Arsenal 1, Manchester United 0; Aston Villa 0, Tottenham 3; Charlton 1, Sheffield Wednesday 1; Chelsea 0, Norwich 0; Everton 2, Nottingham Forest 0, Leicester 1, Luton 1; Manchester City 3, Wimbledon 1; Newcastle 0, Liverpool 2; Southampton 5, QPR 1; Watford 3, Oxford 0, West Ham 1, Coventry 0

SECOND DIVISION: Barnsley 2, Crystal Palace 3; Blackburn 2, Leeds 1; Bradford City 2, Plymouth 2; Brighton 0, Portsmouth 0; Derby 0, Oldham 1; Huddersfield 0, Sunderland 2; Hull 2, WBA 0; Ipswich 1, Grimsby 1; Reading 0, Millwall 1; Sheffield United 1, Shrewsbury 1; Stoke 0, Birmingham 2.

THIRD DIVISION: Blackpool 0, Chesterfield 0; Bolton 1, Swindon 2; Brentford 1, Bournemouth 1; Bristol City 2, Bury 2; Chester 2, Carlisle 2; Mansfield 2, Doncaster 1; Middlesbrough 2, Port Vale 2 (at Hartlepool); Newport 1, Gillingham 2; Notts County 2, Wigan 0; Rotherham 0, Fulham 0; Walsall 0, Bristol Rovers 3; York 3, Darlington 1.

FOURTH DIVISION: Exeter 1, Orient 0; Halifax 1, Aldershot 0; Hartlepool 1, Cardiff 1; Hereford 0, Wrexham 0; Lincoln 3, Colchester 1; Peterborough 2, Southend 0, Rochdale 1, Crewe 1; Scunthorpe 2, Northampton 2, Swansea 3, Stockport 0; Torquay 1, Burnley 1; Tranmere 1, Preston 1; Wolverhampton 1, Cambridge United 2.

FINE FARE SCOTTISH LEAGUE — Premier Division: Celtic 1, Aberdeen 1; Dundee United 1, Hearts 0; Falkirk 0, Dundee 1; Hamilton 1, Rangers 2; Hibernian 0, Motherwell 0; St Mirren 0, Clydebank 1. Leading positions: 1, Celtic (P4, Pts7); 2, Dundee United (P4, Pts7); 3, Dundee (P4, Pts6).

SCOTTISH FIRST DIVISION: Brechin 2, Morton 5; Dumbarton 3, Forfar 2; Dunfermline 2, Clyde 0; East Fife 1, Airdrie 1; Kilmarnock 3, Montrose 0; Partick 1, Queen of South 1. Leading positions: 1, Dunfermline (P4, Pts8); 2, Airdrie (P4, Pts6); 3, Morton (P4, Pts5).

SCOTTISH SECOND DIVISION: Alloa 1, Ayr 0; Arbroath 3, Stenhousemuir 1; Berwick 2, East Stirling 2; Cowdenbeath 0, Stirling Albion 2; Meadowbank 0, Raith 1; Queen's Park 3, Stranraer 2; St Johnstone 1, Albion Rovers 2. Leading positions: Stirling Albion (P3, Pts3); 2, Alloa (P3, Pts6); Raith (P3, Pts5).

Boy's Own Botham

Frank Keating on a triumphant return

THE prodigal returned in quite sensational fashion and, in doing so, became the most successful bowler in Test Match history.

After his enforced absence for three months following his springtime admission to smoking pot, Ian Botham set the Oval alight on the first day of the final game against New Zealand last week by taking a wicket with the first ball he bowled.

By the end of his second over he had another and at lunch, as the team pushed him to lead them back through the pavilion gate, sweater twirled nonchalantly over a massive shoulder, he seemed to throw a glance up to the full complement of selectors looking down in a huddle from their first-floor balcony. I was unable to discover whether they then repaired inside for a stiff round of pink gins.



Botham celebrates.

Botham is now past his 10th consecutive year as a Test Match man. Last Thursday he danced in as if it was his debutant day.

With his second wicket he beat the Australian Dennis Lillee's all-time Test bowler's record of 355 wickets.

Botham said afterwards: "Dennis will always be the best, always better than me, whatever the records say. We'll have a bottle over it when we next meet — only difference that this time Dennis will be paying!"

Even he had been surprised at such a first-ball drama. "Well, you know my looseners usually go for four." However, he maintained that anger at the media writing him off as a bowler before the match had been a factor.

The editor of Boy's Own Paper was not available for comment. He has another exclusive tale to tell.

Matthew Engel adds: When did any team game ever produce such a sub-plot as this?

Play had started late, the opening overs had proceeded peacefully enough, it was time for a bowling change. Up trots Botham. His loosener was intended as such, hardly more than a long-hop. But Bruce Edgar, transfixed by the legend more than the ball, or perhaps just anxious to play a bit-part in history, waved his bat and helped it to second slip.

The crowd erupted. Botham erupted, made a series of gestures that indicated he was quite pleased with himself and embraced Gatting as though they were long-lost twin brothers, which in a way they are. Amid the scrum of players Gooch asked: "Who writes your bloody script then?" If it comes from a comic strip, it is from a new one: Ian of the Cliches or the Wizard of Ego.

For pointless hours in Antigua, Botham bowled and bowled in an attempt to get that wicket. Now one suspension, four months and a million column inches later he had done it at the first attempt.

He almost broke the record next ball. It was a beauty, which Jeff Crowe had to play though it slithered off the edge boot-high to Emburey at third slip, who was just a fraction too slow.

Botham's third ball was a good bouncer: his eighth almost sliced back on to Crowe's stumps: his twelfth caught Crowe square, slipped past a half-cock defensive shot and took him on the pad. Some thought it might have missed leg stump, but umpire Shepherd's hesitation may have come simply because he did not believe it either. That was the record.

• After numerous interruptions of play through rain the match was poised at the close on Saturday evening with England on 281 for 3 in reply to New Zealand's first innings total of 287.

County Cricket Table

	P	W	L	D	Bt	Bl	Pts
Gloucestershire (3)	21	9	3	9	41	60	245
Essex (4)	19	8	5	6	47	59	234
Surrey (6)	20	7	6	7	47	58	217
Worcestershire (5)	20	5	5	10	46	60	186
Hampshire (2)	19	5	4	10	45	59	184
Leicestershire (16)	20	5	6	9	46	58	184
Nottingh'mshire (8)	18	5	2	11	46	57	183
Yorkshire (11)	21	4	4	13	57	54	183
Northant'shire (10)	19	5	2	12	46	49	175
Kent (9)	19	4	5	10	37	61	162
Derbyshire (13)	19	4	4	11	31	62	157
Sussex (7)	20	4	7	9	37	47	148
Warwickshire (15)	19	3	3	13	46	43	137
Somerset (17)	19	3	3	13	46	38	132
Lancashire (14)	20	3	4	13	40	43	131
Middlesex (1)	20	2	9	9	36	59	127
Glamorgan (12)	19	1	5	13	32	41	89

1985 positions in brackets.

RUGBY UNION: Ian Templeton reports from Dunedin

Australians denied by referee

SIX minutes from time, with the All Blacks ahead 13-9 Steve Tuynman crashed over the New Zealand line and clearly grounded the ball, but to the disbelief of the Australians and the astonishment of the 24,000 crowd, Welsh referee Derek Bevan ruled that there were "too many hands on the ball" and disallowed the touchdown.

The Wallabies immediately scored a penalty, but it was not enough to save the second Test.

After winning the first Test 13-12 it was a cruel irony for the Australians to lose the second by the same score. The All Black selectors had dropped nine of the first Test players and rebuilt the pack with seven from the "rebel" team that toured South Africa. Nevertheless Australian forward power, particularly at the line-out, secured an astonishing flow of ball, which was often squandered by poorly directed kicking.

The All Blacks began with several charges that produced a try within the first few minutes and a 13-3 half-time lead. But then the age of several of the All Blacks began to show and as they came off the boil the Australians cooled the ardour of the Dunedin crowd.

Told afterwards by reporters that television replays showed a try should have been awarded, Bevan said: "If that is so, it's the first time I've been caught by trial by television."

ROWING: Christopher Dodd at Holme Pierrepont, Nottingham

British pair's final flourish

ANDY HOLMES and Steve Redgrave added gold for the coxed pairs to their bag of medals at the world championships in Nottingham on Sunday. They also provided the great enclosures at the national water sports centre with a tantalising spectacle as they stalked the East Germans for what seemed like mile upon mile, leaving the final push until 300 yards to squeeze their bows in front.

Allan Smith and Carl Whitwell, both Nottingham oarsmen, sculled themselves to Britain's second gold medal in a superbly calculated race in which they went out in front at halfway and held off the challenge from the previous champions Crispin Luc and Thierry Renault of France.

The lightweight coxless four from Nottingham looked as if they blew the gold medal by going too fast too early. Having started in second position they were first at halfway, but the Italians, second the year before, progressed steadily through the field to overtake the crew of Chris Bates, Peter Haining, Neil Staite, and Stuart Forbes. "If we hadn't gone when we did, we wouldn't even have got the bronze," said Forbes.

Adam Clift and Martin Cross did not match expectations in the coxless pairs. Despite being drawn in lane one and cheered and willed on by the home crowd, their famous late charge never made much impression, and they finished fourth. The Pimenov brothers of the Soviet Union got their third world title and the Italians and the East Germans took the other medals.

HOCKEY: by Janet Ruff

Dutch joy and England's pleasure

NETHERLANDS retained their women's world hockey title on Sunday by beating West Germany 3-0 before a capacity crowd of 80,000 at Amstelveen, Holland.

Netherlands totally controlled the game. Such was their technical mastery that the Dutch players misfielded only five balls during the entire match. In a disappointing game for third and fourth places Canada defeated New Zealand 3-2 after extra time.

On Saturday, celebrations were loud and long after England's 3-2 extra time victory over Australia to gain fifth place.

GOLF: by Roy Fraser

Feherty wins in extra time

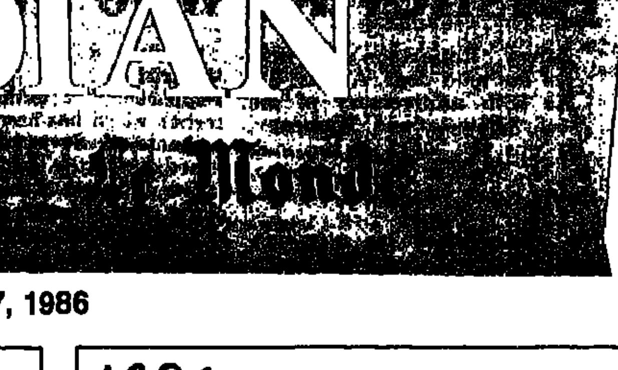
IN virtually a carbon copy of his Italian Open victory earlier this season, David Feherty survived a play-off to win the Bell's Scotch Open at Hagg's Castle on Sunday.

A 10-yard birdie putt down the slope and across a ridge at the second extra hole was worth slightly over £10,000 to the 28-year-old Ulsterman — representing the margin between the first prize of £21,660 and the cheques collected by runners-up Christy O'Connor Jnr and Ian Baker-Finch. All three finished the fourth round on 270 — 14 under par.

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25

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Britain cool to new action on Libya

THE British Government will respond with marked coolness this week when General Vernon Walters, the American ambassador to the United Nations, comes to London in search of support for new sanctions against Libya. Officials denied that the response would be a flat "No," but Mrs Thatcher's distaste for new economic measures against the Gadafy regime is well known.

The Prime Minister will be in Scotland, staying with the Queen at Balmoral, during General Walters's visit. His request for support for new measures to back President Reagan's continued opposition to Libya will be handled by Sir Geoffrey Howe, who is expected to make plain the Government's unhappiness at Mr Reagan's handling of the matter. The Foreign Secretary will tell him that Britain already enforces a tough package of sanctions against Libya, and cannot be expected to do more.

The Government, however, is quite eager to discover whether President Reagan is seriously contemplating a fresh strike against Libya, or whether such reports from Washington were merely intended to frighten and unnerve Colonel Gadafy.

Washington officials have suggested that the Administration would like Western European Governments to undertake that they will not allow any petroleum products to be exported to the US that contain a component of Libyan oil. But British officials will tell General Walters that the oil market is far too sophisticated for such controls to be exercised, even if governments were prepared to consider such measures.

In any case, the British Government does not believe that the Libyan leader's recent actions warrant further action against him. While Britain is prepared to look at any evidence of fresh terrorist plots, the British view is that there is only highly circumstantial evidence of Libya involvement in recent terrorist acts — including the recent terrorist bombing of British bases in Cyprus.

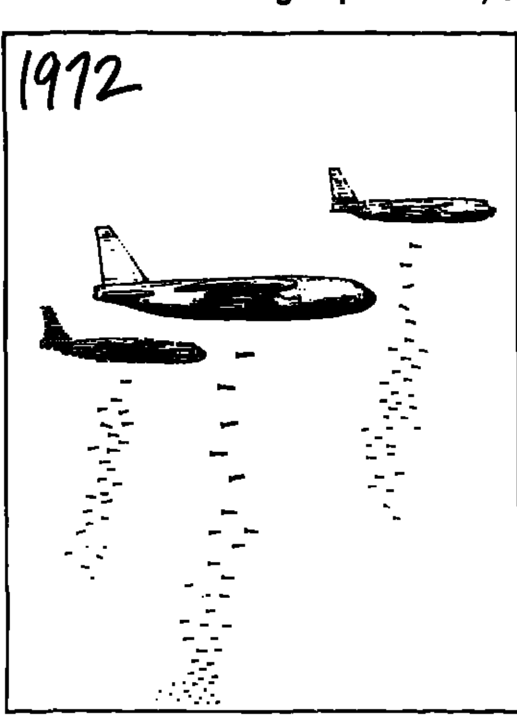
The arrival of 18 US Air Force F-111 fighter-bombers, coinciding with reports that the Reagan administration believes Libya may mount terrorist actions against Americans, has caused considerable concern that British bases might be involved again in US raids against Libya. F-111s taking off from British bases were among the US planes that attacked targets in Tripoli and Benghazi in April.

Donald Dick, a spokesman for the US 3rd Air Force in Britain, said 12 of the F-111s were from the 27th Tactical Fighter Wing based at Cannon Air Force Base in New Mexico and the other six from the 366th Tactical Fighter Wing, at Mountain Home, Idaho. A maintenance support unit of 500 airmen was brought in to service the aircraft.

The planes would take part in Nato's routine autumn manoeuvres and return to the United States on September 24. Word that the movement is routine has done little to dispel the concern of British people, in part because preparations for the April raids were also described as routine manoeuvres.

Mr David Steel, the Liberal Party leader, urged Mrs Thatcher

Continued on page 6





BOMBING THEM INTO SUBMISSION

Letter to the Editor

Why 'target' rural Herefordshire?

About ten days before the US raid on Tripoli, US aircraft practised strikes against "targets" in rural Herefordshire. Today our house, whilch is conspicuously large, was repeatedly "attacked" by two Phantom fighter bombers, marked with a yellow disc on the fin and having light blue upper surfaces, possibly characteristic of US carrier-based units. They were flown with total disregard for the safety of the 50 people who live here, the noise alone making it impossible to converse, use the telephone, or concentrate on daily tasks. Babies were woken in distress and animals, according to talent, sought refuge or attempted to deal with the invaders.

Simultaneously, transport aircraft made low traverses of the area. Does this indicate US plans to airlift troops into the attack arena this time?

The routine "targeting" of inhabited areas of the UK by US warplanes is, in the long run, a more important issue than the use of US bases for dubious adventures elsewhere. The aircraft are armed, if only with practice weapons, and any malfunction during the final phases of an "attack" must inevitably damage property and injure or kill the inhabitants.

We are regularly visited by RAF aircraft, who are sometimes almost as annoying, but not flown as recklessly as were these Phantoms or the Lockheed A10 "Warthogs" which are frequently loosed upon us. Who lays down rules for US aircrew in UK airspace and who sees that they are obeyed? The Ministry of Defence shows no sign of accepting responsibility.

A neighbour who complained recently was told not to worry, this was after all the sound of freedom. We hold the contrary view, the thunder of warbirds is a direct threat to life wherever they fly. The sound of freedom is peace.

Chris Mattingly,
Canon Frome Court,
Nr Ledbury, Hereford.

The Washington Post

Wrong Policy Over Gadhafi

FOR SOME MONTHS after the attack of April 15 on Libya, American officials cautiously savored the possibility that a sobered Col. Moammar Gadhafi had retreated to the desert to contemplate the features of a world in which he could no longer take for granted widespread indulgence of his acts of terrorism. In Washington, however, a new analysis has become known, courtesy first of the Wall Street Journal. Officials report they have detected renewed signs of interest in terrorism by the Libyan leader. There is also some suggestion that the United States is trying to psych out the Libyan strongman by fomenting anxiety about what this country is planning. But whatever its purpose, the policy is clearly to make public American intentions to retaliate against, and perhaps even to preempt, further Gadhafi-inspired terrorist acts. Fresh efforts have been undertaken to get the allies to strengthen their sanctions against a Gadhafi who is pictured as "mentally unstable" but still capable — perhaps because of the alleged instability — of fresh offenses.

One reaction to the new analysis will surely be a judgment that it proves the April 15 raid was a mistake, since it bought quiet for a period of time only long enough for Col. Gadhafi to regroup and since his revival is bound to appear as a major coup. A second reaction may be that the United States has no choice but to give it to the Libyans really good the next time: to mount an attack that would put his later revival or even his survival out of question.

Reports, page 15

Neither of these conclusions makes much sense to us. Anyone who thought at the time that the April raid had ended Libyan terror was foolish. It was enough that the United States had good and necessary grounds to hold up its end in the struggle against international anarchy. Terrorism is no ephemeral thing. Particular individuals have a responsibility for driving the phenomenon forward, but deeper conditions sustain it. It follows that terrorism must be fought not by a single concentrated blow but by persistent intelligent defense conducted on many fronts on a continuing basis.

The United States has the raw power to strike out against Col. Gadhafi in an overwhelming way at any time. Many Americans and many people elsewhere, however, would object to the scale — the disproportionate quality — of such a response. It would amount to an act of unilateralism, since even close friends in Europe would likely stint on their support. Since April, the allies have come far in firming up their stand against Col. Gadhafi: this is a qualitative change of increasing importance. We don't know what intelligence may have discovered about Col. Gadhafi's post-April offenses or his new plans; these would surely have to rise to an unprecedentedly monstrous level to justify this country's breaking up alliance common policy, which it has been trying carefully to build since April.

Passing the buck on visas

IT IS unlike this Government to bow to union pressure; indeed it has made it an article of faith never so to do. But the best reading of the Cabinet decision to insist on visas for visitors from certain countries as a condition of entry into Britain is capitulation to a union which has recently been making ever more threatening noises. The Immigration Service Union, which broke away from the Society of Civil and Public Servants, has been balloting for industrial action against what it considers appalling conditions at Heathrow airport. The Government's answer, arrived at after what was apparently an argumentative first Cabinet after the holiday, is to export the problem, at a stroke seeking to placate the union and sending the embarrassment far away from domestic eyes.

The problem over which the ISU has been protesting is the inability of immigration officers to cope with the large number of visitors arriving at Heathrow who have to be processed to ensure their sincerity about their visitor status. This has caused ever lengthening queues, angry scenes in the

Continued on page 10

Bolsheviks who are innocent

G‹frey Robertson's article (Da‹f the mad dogs, August 31) on ‹e 50th anniversary of the tri‹ of Zinoviev and Kamenev, w‹ was the start of the long s‹ of Stalin's bloody purges, c‹ains some significant inaccu‹s.

‹e concentrates his attention ‹nly on the fate of Bukharin ‹o was tried and shot in 1938. In ‹36, soon after Zinoviev's and ‹amenev's execution, Bukharin ‹as still collaborating with Stalin ‹d was entrusted by him with the ‹rafting of the Soviet constitution, ‹roclaimed to be "the most demo‹ratic in the world."

Only 10 years earlier, at the 15th party conference, Bukharin had attacked Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Trotsky with such ferocity that he earned for himself Stalin's applause: "Well done, Bukharin, well done. He does not argue with them, he slaughters them!"

Mr Robertson rightly recalls that as editor of Izvestia (1934-36) Bukharin effectively attacked fascism; therefore "It was incredible" Mr Robertson concludes, "that Bukharin would have joined forces with his old enemies, the Trotskyites, and secretly conspired with those fascist power" against which he polemicised.

This is an ambiguous statement, to say the least. Does this imply that the "Trotskyites" did "secretly conspire" with fascist powers? If so, Mr Robertson repeats the old Stalinist slander which has long ago been denounced as such, even in Moscow. Mr Robertson's is a shameful innuendo.

Bukharin was, in Lenin's words, "the party's most valuable and biggest theoretician . . . and the favourite of the whole party"; he was a true revolutionary, and a great Bolshevik. But it is preposterous to present him as the only or even the most weighty opponent of Stalin.

To claim too much for Bukharin by ridiculously denying or playing down the role of such a consistent adversary of Stalin as Trotsky, adds nothing to Bukharin's considerable stature.

Socialists of all shades all over the world should press relentlessly for the rehabilitation of *all* old Bolsheviks, of *all* victims of Stalinist "justice"; to single out Bukharin does no service to this cause.

Tamara Deutscher,
Kidderpore Gardens,
London NW 3.

Geoffrey Robertson's article on the trial of Bukharin is the latest refinement in a technique of distortion which has been endemic in accounts of Soviet history published during the last 30 years.

The distortion of the significance of the trials of former party leaders in the 1930s is achieved by ignoring the concrete political background to these proceedings, and relying instead on a tissue of half-facts or facts taken out of context, all based on the bland assumption that those accused and found guilty in the Moscow trials were in fact innocent.

It has always been a problem for this type of history to explain why a large number of false confessions were obtained from men who had little or nothing to gain by such persistent perjury, many of whom had a past history of dedicated political service and could not be easily coerced.

Readers will decide for themselves whether Mr Robertson's tortuous explanation is more convincing than most; but of course the problem entirely disappears if we conclude — with most serious contemporary observers, that these were serious judicial proceedings, not massive frame-ups.

The rift between Stalin and Bukharin arose over the collectivisation of agriculture. Stalin argued that this was the indispensable prelude to large-scale industrial construction, which alone would ensure the safety of the Soviet state.

Bukharin argued that the backwardness of the Soviet Union, and its encirclement by capitalist powers, made a policy of concessions to the capitalist elements in the Soviet economy a much wiser course.

Stalin won the argument in the Politburo, which is why he stayed in power and Russia embarked on collectivisation. But Bukharin and his followers were not willing to stop there. Many resorted to factionalism, clandestine political opposition, or in extreme cases actual sabotage of the Soviet economy; this is the actual basis of the trial of Bukharin and his associates.

No one who reads the transcript of his trial — which so far as I know is not readily available in English — could seriously doubt the basic integrity of the trial proceedings.

Mr Robertson pats the Manchester Guardian approvingly on the back for having been "dubious" about the Bukharin trials at the time. Perhaps it is also appropriate to remind him of the same newspaper's later reaction to that event.

The Manchester Guardian pointed out quite correctly that Khruschev had been compelled to tread carefully for several years after the death of Stalin in 1953; he could not have afforded immediately to repudiate the man whom the Soviet working-class knew to be acting in their best interests.

Would even a so-called "leftwing" historian be prepared to make that admission today?

Fred Clough,
Lonsties, Keswick,
Cumbria.

Britain's debt to the Cameroons

In April I visited Lake Nios in the Cameroons. The lake was absolutely tranquil, reflecting images like a sheet of glass.

Nearby in the small town of Wum, we witnessed a funeral taking place. Little did we realise that four months later one-quarter of the town's population would have died.

Wum is in the Anglophone North-west province where many people still value their past connections with Britain, when Southern Cameroon was a UK trustee territory.

Many people I spoke to expressed the view that since the Anglophone province united with the larger Francophone section, Britain had seemed to take no interest in the country. This they regretted, but not their decision to join the Francophone republic.

The lack of British interest was clearly visible, especially in terms of trade.

Yet local Africans were asking: "Why don't British businesses wish to trade with us?" I had no answer but, like them, I wished the British Government and our companies would act more positively.

In 1960 as a young NCO in the Royal Engineers, I was among the British Forces sent to the Cameroons to help administer the plebiscite which, by and large peacefully, resulted in the unification of the former French and British colonies. It was the only country in which I served where British troops, representing a colonial force, were welcomed with cheers. The Cameroonians were more than hospitable to our troops which is amazing, considering the racist and paternalistic views held by many British soldiers.

I hope that the British Government will offer more help than the pittance it has given so far to the relief programme and that, once a disaster fund is set up, the British public and international companies will dip generously into their pockets.

D. F. Sparks,
John Drinkwater Tower,
London E1.

More facts about the Warrior

Brian Thomas, (Letters August 10), does not realise that there were *two* bombs attached to the Rainbow Warrior. They were let off with an interval of several minutes. Fernando Pereira was trapped following the *second* explosion, stunned and then drowned. It should also be stressed that the DGSE struck in Auckland for one main purpose. It was here that the international directors of Greenpeace were to be together for the first time in years. But their customary incompetence allowed them to choose the one night when most were away enjoying Kiwi hospitality at a local beach resort. Mr Thomas's theory is just nonsense — and should be strongly refuted.

Tom McRae,
Washington Avenue,
Brooklyn, Wellington, N.Z.

Four good reasons and more why Mr Shaw is wrong

Mr John Shaw's letter about the expatriate vote has provoked a huge response — here is a further selection of your replies.

Mr Shaw (Letters August 17) should get his facts right.

Firstly, we are not being "coerced" into voting, but are being offered the opportunity to do so.

Secondly, not all of us are living abroad as a means of tax avoidance; quite a number of us have chosen a foreign country for the benefits of climate, and cheaper living costs.

Thirdly, some of us *do* pay taxes in the U.K., on any investments we may have there, or any Government pensions we may receive.

Finally, many of my friends who have chosen to live out their days abroad are of leftwing opinions, so they cannot be included among those to whom Mr Shaw refers, and who he implies are Conservatives.

Joan Morris (Mrs),
Duras, France.

Qualification based on wealth was abolished by the reform bills in the 19th century. Many expatriates are employed by branches of British companies and can be regarded as contributing (albeit indirectly) to the economy.

Expatriates may also return home in the next Parliamentary term, so perhaps they should have their say in the selection of the government of the day.

Alan D. Lloyd,
West Cabot Lane,
Schaumburg. Il.,

The right to vote is a privilege of citizenship, not a reward for paying taxes.

Madeline J. Harris,
Big Bend Drive,
Milpitas, Calif.

Perhaps Mr Shaw does not realise that many expatriates have been forced out of Britain by appalling levels of unemployment. In my field this seems to be caused by the ignorance of the present government of the value of research and education to the future of Britain. Since I and my family would dearly love to live and work in Britain nothing would give me greater pleasure than to have an opportunity to vote against the present government in the next general election.

Stephen B. Malcolm (Dr),
Department of Zoology,
University of Florida,
Gainesville.

Don't worry Mr Shaw! If it makes you feel better, the expatriates round here will not be voting Conservative in the next election. But you are quite right. Why should we be able to vote at all? No representation without taxation. Most of us here are ashamed to be British particularly after the Libyan bombing.

Clare Walker,
Newport, Co. Mayo,
Eire.

Why has Mr Shaw the effrontery to assume that all expatriates are tax dodgers, or prefer not to live in England?

M. M. Adams (Mrs),
Avenida Gabriel Miro,
Edificio Damara,
Spain.

As a Briton working abroad (for USAID), I resent the implication that we are self seeking, unpatriotic rats. Many of us have skills as engineers, bankers, linguists or agriculturalists which are superflous or redundant in a Britain with three million unemployed, but which are invaluable to development here. Others, representing British companies, help promote employment in Britain. If we appear well paid, that often reflects the conditions in which we have to live and work, *and/or the* skills we have. Often, in fact, we are regarded as cheap labour, in part reflecting our tax free status as long-term nonresidents, which itself is the result of both parties' policy of promoting the employment of Britons abroad. The Labour Party should stop wingeingly accepting Mr Tebbit's assertion that we're all automatically Tory voters.

Chris James,
Buppodu Tk 1,
Jalan T. Nyak Arief,
Banda Aceh,
Indonesia.

It should be noted that the present law on votes for expatriates applies only to those who have been named on an electoral register within the past five years, thus cutting out the long-term resident abroad. Since a government is elected for several years and likely to be in power on one's return home, I see no argument whatsoever for excluding those temporarily abroad from the election rights they would have at home.

Angela Rogers,
Sukajadi,
Bandung,
West Java, Indonesia.

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Swapo's 20-year struggle

August 26 was Namibia Day and the 20th anniversary of the South West Africa People's Organisation. But South Africa still occupies Namibia in defiance of the UN and currently deploys more than 100,000 troops for its regular border raids into neighbouring Angola.

When I recently visited the militarised zone in Ovamboland in Northern Namibia, I saw evidence of how the local people are being brutalised into submission by this ruthless army of occupation.

Swapo is clearly regarded by the great majority of Namibians as their "sole and authentic" representatives. The so-called "interim government" which celebrated its first anniversary while we were there, is merely a puppet of Pretoria and has little local credibility.

It is high time that we in Britain put more pressure on British companies like Rio Tinto Zinc and Barclays Bank to stop their continuing exploitation of the resources of Namibia and its captive people.

(Rev) Cliff Warren,
Christian Aid,
Southampton.

Government imposes entry visas on five nations

By David Hencke, Malcolm Dean, and Hella Pick

THE Government is to require visas from visitors from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nigeria and Ghana within weeks in the face of international and domestic opposition and an unresolved dispute over the £14 million bill for extra immigration staff.

The decision, taken after a split in cabinet between the Foreign and Home Secretaries, will be challenged when Parliament returns on October 23.

The Labour and the Alliance Parties described the move as racialist and damaging to community relations and Britain's interests abroad, where retaliation is expected.

A Cabinet committee, chaired by the Prime Minister, approved the visa decision on Monday after overcoming the reluctance of Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, who is concerned about Commonwealth reaction.

Mr Douglas Hurd, the Home Secretary, has been under pressure about long delays at Heathrow and Gatwick while visitors are vetted by immigration control.

Although only 222 out of 452,000 visitors from the five countries absconded as illegal immigrants in 1985, the Government believes that stringent checks are essential to keep the numbers low.

The number of refusals of admission rose by 68 per cent in the first six months of this year, in line with a similar increase in visitors from the five which has led to the strain at ports and airports.

When the visas are imposed, probably before Parliament returns, intending visitors will have to apply and submit to checks at British government offices in their own countries.

At least 250 extra vetting staff will be posted overseas or appointed locally. The Foreign Office is adamant that their salaries and training cannot be paid for out of its budget.

The cabinet committee reached no decision on how to meet the £14 million bill but government sources said that savings at Heathrow and other entry ports would help. The current £12 cost of visitors' visas for Britain, required for nationals of Communist countries and, since June last year, Sri Lanka, may be increased.

Mr Hurd said that it was more civilised to make immigration checks before visitors set out on their journey. He added: "The change will benefit all bona fide passengers who are at present being delayed on arrival."

Mr Gerald Kaufmann, the shadow home secretary, described the decision as "outright racialism" which would make it much more difficult for people from the five countries to visit relatives in Britain.

He went on: "It strikes a vicious blow at community relations in Britain because it will tend to isolate people in Britain originating from these countries from their families. It will also be administratively expensive and cumbersome."

Mr Alan Beith, deputy leader of the Liberal Party, accused the Government of racial prejudice. "They should deal with the genuine problem of inadequate numbers of immigration officers at the ports of entry. If they go ahead they will do appalling damage to Britain's already strained relations with Commonwealth."

There was no immediate reaction from the five countries, while the high commissions and the Pakistani embassy forwarded the news. The four Commonwealth countries already require British visitors to carry visas. Pakistan is now expected to follow suit.

The Immigration Services Union at Heathrow said that it hoped the issuing of pre-entry visas would ease the pressure on its members. A spokeswoman said that rumours of the plan had led to a further increase in visitors trying to beat any deadline for visas.

The Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants said that it would be cheaper, easier and more efficient to deal with visitors in Britain rather than pushing the problem overseas.

It added: Checks will be more difficult to carry out and will take longer, making it difficult if not impossible for people to come here at short notice for something like a family funeral which cannot be delayed."

The Commission for Racial Equality said that the number of visitors absconding was minimal compared with the hundreds of thousands of genuine visitors. The visas simply "removed the problem to the other end of the world."

Mr David Winnick, MP, chairman of the United Kingdom Immigrants Advisory Service said that the visas should not be imposed until Parliament had been given the chance to debate the matter.

TUC decides ballots a good thing after all

THE Trades Union Congress, which fought tooth and nail three years ago against legislation giving workers the right to ballot before being called out on strike, decided at its annual conference this week that ballots are a good thing after all. It resolved that a future Labour government should not do away with the secret ballots. "Our members want them," said the general secretary, Mr Norman Willis.

The conference did demand that all other aspects of the Conservatives' labour relations legislation — laws that give employers recourse to the courts if hit by illegal strikes and pickets, and powers that enable the courts to seize union funds — should be swept away. But the debate, which also upheld the concept of a national minimum wage to protect the low paid, was a restrained one in which speakers seemed to recognise that excessive demands could prejudice the Labour victory on which all their hopes depend.

BR is one of many state-owned industries which has dramatically improved its financial performance at the cost of jobs, but Labour's strategy is to change the financial remit of nationalised industries to give priority to "social responsibility" rather than to profit-making.

There were signs this week that Labour is also being pressurised by some its activists to promise yet another reform of local government. The idea this time is to replace the county councils in England with some form of regional government, not unlike the six metropolitan authorities which Mrs Thatcher abolished earlier this year. But the party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, is not keen on the idea. Changes in local government are seldom welcomed by the electorate, and proposals for yet another "reform" could plausibly be depicted by Labour's opponents as bureaucratic, authoritarian or, more likely, a device to provide jobs for the boys.

Northern Ireland, which already has an unemployment rate of 22 per cent, suffered another blow when Gallaher, the cigarette manufacturing firm, decided to close its Belfast factory with the loss of 700 jobs. The closure was blamed on cheap imports from Germany and the decline in smoking, partly for health reasons and partly because of the high level of duty on tobacco products.

THE WEEK IN BRITAIN by James Lewis

Though the TUC may well find itself at odds with Labour on issues such as nuclear power policy, the conference showed signs of the "new realism" forced upon the unions by seven years of Tory rule. Mrs Thatcher's policies have cost the congress three million members — union members in employment are now outnumbered by non-unionists — and most unions have lost their taste for strikes or any other form of industrial action.

The TUC is also belatedly conscious of the fact that many of its members must have voted Tory in the past two general elections and that, even if they do not vote Conservative next time, they could easily transfer their allegiance to the SDP-Liberal Alliance rather than to Labour. The SDP, striving to improve its relationships with the unions, published a consultative paper on industrial relations proposing that workers in essential public services should not be allowed to strike without first taking their grievances to independent arbitration.

Labour, unveiling its own proposals on industrial relations, said it would compel nationalised industries to restore thousands of jobs which have been axed since 1980. A Labour employment task force told British Rail that, if it wanted to retain its subsidy from the taxpayers, it would have to restore at least half the the 28,000 jobs it had shed in the past six years.

Dr Rhodes Boyson, Industry Minister at the Northern Ireland Office, said he wanted to persuade the American and Canadian governments to accept more emigrants from the province as one way of alleviating unemployment, which is increasing at the rate of 20,000 a year. Emigrants were Northern Ireland's "historical export", said Dr Boyson, and, while he did not want to lose people, he thought America should accept more. He will raise the issue of a government-sponsored system of emigration during a tour of North America next month.

Short Brothers, the Ulster aircraft manufacturers, promised its 7,000 workers to fly the Union Flag all the year round if they would take down Loyalist flags and bunting. An order by the company the previous week that all Loyalist insignia should be removed in the interests of harmony between Catholic and Protestant workers provoked a walkout by 1,000 Protestants and the offer to fly the British flag was an attempt at compromise.

Republican sympathisers in the United States demanded the cancellation of the Pentagon's $150 million aircraft order from Shorts because of the company's "failure to ensure basic equality" between its Protestant and Catholic workers. Though the aircraft order is safe, American lobbyists have managed to get non-discriminatory conditions written into the £50 million Irish aid package recently signed by President Reagan. Three-quarters of the money is destined for Northern Ireland and the remainder for border areas of the Republic.

Two newly-born boys whose identities were mixed up at an Irish hospital were returned to their rightful mothers after blood and tissue tests established their true identities. One couple had insisted that the baby they had taken home was theirs, and had to be restrained by the High Court in Dublin from taking the child out of the Republic until the dispute was resolved. The tests, similar to those used in transplant operations, finally established that one of the couples could not have been the parents of one of the children.

Player gaoled for match punch

By Martin Linton

THE world of Welsh rugby was divided this week over the case of David Bishop, a Welsh international sentenced to a month in gaol at Newport crown court on Monday for punching another player in the face during a match.

His club chairman in Pontypool, Mr Bill Lewis, said he did not think that violent incidents during a match should ever reach a court of law. "Rough play is something for rugby to sort out itself," he said.

But the secretary of the Welsh Rugby Union, Mr Ray Williams, said he hoped that the sentence would serve as another warning to all sportsmen that behaviour on the field was not just a matter for the game.

"It has been established for some time that players participating in games are still governed by the laws of the land and if they misbehave on the field of play in a grossly unacceptable way action can be taken against them."

The incident occurred in a club match between Pontypool and Newbridge last year when, according to the prosecution, Pontypool scrum half Bishop punched Newbridge lock Chris Jarman in the face while he was trapped on the ground.

The punch rendered Mr Jarman unconscious for three or four minutes and he was carried off. He was taken to hospital and had two days off work, suffering from headaches, Mr Patrick Harrington told the court.

Witnesses in the grandstand were sickened by the blow, which was delivered while the referee was unsighted, and if he had seen it he would have little option but to send Bishop off, he said.

But officials and supporters at Pontypool rugby club defended him on Monday. "As far as Dai is concerned, we're really upset," said club steward Mr Ben Griffiths. "When you are on the field you get a little bit of nonsense, but you should accept it. These boys are boisterous, but they are not dirty players."

Mr Jarman said after the case: "I have no regrets at all about bringing the case. Just because he's a Welsh international doesn't give him the right to go hitting other players. He shouldn't have done it, and if he had done it in the street he may have got a stiffer sentence."

Bishop played for Wales in a match last year but has not been capped again since the incident. His defence counsel, Mr Peter Griffiths, told the court that Bishop had delivered the punch in a heated atmosphere and had already been punished enough.

Labour would drop Sizewell

By David Fairhall

A LABOUR Government would cancel the proposed Sizewell B nuclear power station in Suffolk even if construction had started.

In the clearest statement opposing the expansion of nuclear power yet made by the Labour Party, its energy spokesman, Mr Stan Orme, described the Sizewell project as "an act of dangerous folly".

If the Government proceeds with the construction of the American-style pressurised water (PWR) station, "Labour will cancel the contract," he warned.

The shadow energy secretary was commenting on a new report by the environmental group Friends of the Earth, reviewing the Layfield public inquiry into the Sizewell project. It claimed that the recent fall in coal and oil prices have invalidated the Central Electricity Generating Board's economic case for building it.

The Liberal Party's environment spokesman, Mr Simon Hughes, said it would fight any government proposal to build a PWR in Britain.

Even before the Chernobyl disaster, he said, an increasing number of people were arguing for at least a moratorium on the PWR programme. Since Chernobyl the arguments were overwhelming.

"This report makes it clear that where the interests of Britain are concerned, its safety and its proper energy policy, the Government cannot be trusted," he said.

Minister's daughter left £500,000

OLIVIA CHANNON, the Cabinet minister's daughter who died after a drink and drugs party in Oxford on June 11, has left an estate valued at more than £500,000.

The 22-year-old Oxford undergraduate, daughter of the Trade and Industry Secretary, Mr Paul Channon, is believed to have inherited the wealth from trusts set up by her family, which includes the Guinness dynasty.

She left an estate valued at £686,000 gross and £541,959 net from a will she made on Christmas Eve, 1985. On her instructions it will be divided between her sister, Georgia, and brother, Henry.

She had an estimated allowance from family trusts of £25,000. She was posthumously awarded a third-class degree in her subject, modern history.

Her father owns a country mansion near Brentwood, Essex, a villa in Mustique and a house worth some £2 million in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea. He is the grandson of the Earl of Iveagh, former chairman of Guinness.

Henry Moore dies at 88

By Edward Vulliamy

HENRY MOORE, one of the great creative figures of the century, died during the early hours of Sunday at his home in Hertfordshire. A sculptor who had been bitterly criticised and highly honoured throughout the world, Moore died peacefully, in the house in which he had lived and worked for nearly 50 years. He was 88.

One of his friends, and author of a book on his work, Professor Alan Bowness, director of the Tate Gallery, said: "He is the outstanding artistic figure of his generation. People like him have already passed into history before they are actually dead. There is a timeless quality to his sculpture that explains why it speaks to so many people in so many different ways."

Moore has been hailed as a pioneer of the avant-garde and as one of the last great romantics in art. Some critics accused him of disfiguring the human form, others praised him for exalting it. His friend, the filmmaker John Read, son of the art historian Herbert Read, wrote in 1979: "At times, the 20th century has seemed a dispiriting period for the survival of civilised values and for individual genius. In such moods, a visit to Henry Moore's studios gives one a heartening sense of reassurance. Human life and endeavour seem indestructible, after all."

Moore was born the seventh son of a miner in Castleford, Yorkshire, in 1898. He liked to work in the open, particularly in his garden. The great influence on his work, apart from the human form, was the impact of nature, and the shapes and textures that erosion by sea and wind created in stone.

Moore once said: "Sculpture is an art of the open air. Daylight, sunlight is necessary to it. And for me, its best setting and complement is nature. I would rather have a piece of sculpture put in a landscape, almost any landscape, than in or on the most beautiful building I know."

Some of his most loved work stands free in the open air: the bird-like King and Queen who sit above a remote Scottish loch, carved in the year of the Queen's coronation; and the two-part Reclining Figure in the Royal Botanical Gardens, Edinburgh, with its tunnels, spaces and interlocking forms.

During the second world war Moore produced enduring images of the blitz: drawings of crowds of people huddled in the shelter of the London Underground. A biographer, John Russell, wrote that during the war years Moore, already a noted sculptor, was "like some powerful mechanism that had somehow got disconnected from its proper function, like a locomotive in a field". But he continued to draw as well as sculpt, and would tap on the window of his house until sheep had gathered outside it, as subjects for lithographs.

An English Romantic

By Norbert Lynton

FOR some years Henry Moore has been more than merely famous: He has been one of this country's best-loved great men. We have all been gladly aware of this mild-mannered man, ready to stand up for good causes, generous with his time and his work, familiar on television as a benign, simple commentator. He had overcome the obstacles that face an artist who is not Oxbridge. Time will show which was his greater achievement, his life or his art. Certainly we have benefited greatly from both.

It is hard now to imagine the fury that used to greet his work. His first public commission, for a relief figure on the Underground Building in St James's, done in 1928-30, and his first one-man show at the Leicester Galleries in 1931, met with violent abuse.

An event followed that must have been thought unBritish then: Moore's colleagues at the Royal College of Art, where he had been a student and was then part-time instructor, demanded his resignation. The principal stood by him, but Moore left. He set up the sculpture department at Chelsea School of Art and taught there for some years.

His origins were simple — so much so that his early history became part of his later image. Harry was a miner's son, born in 1898 in Castleford to grow up in a little house alongside seven other children. He rubbed his mother's broad back with liniment; he could recognise the girls at his school by the shape of their calves; he was gassed at Cambrai; he was the first student at Leeds School of Art to specialise in sculpture (he was soon joined in that by young Barbara Hepworth). It was a bold start, powered by an early conviction that he had to be a sculptor and a famous one at that.

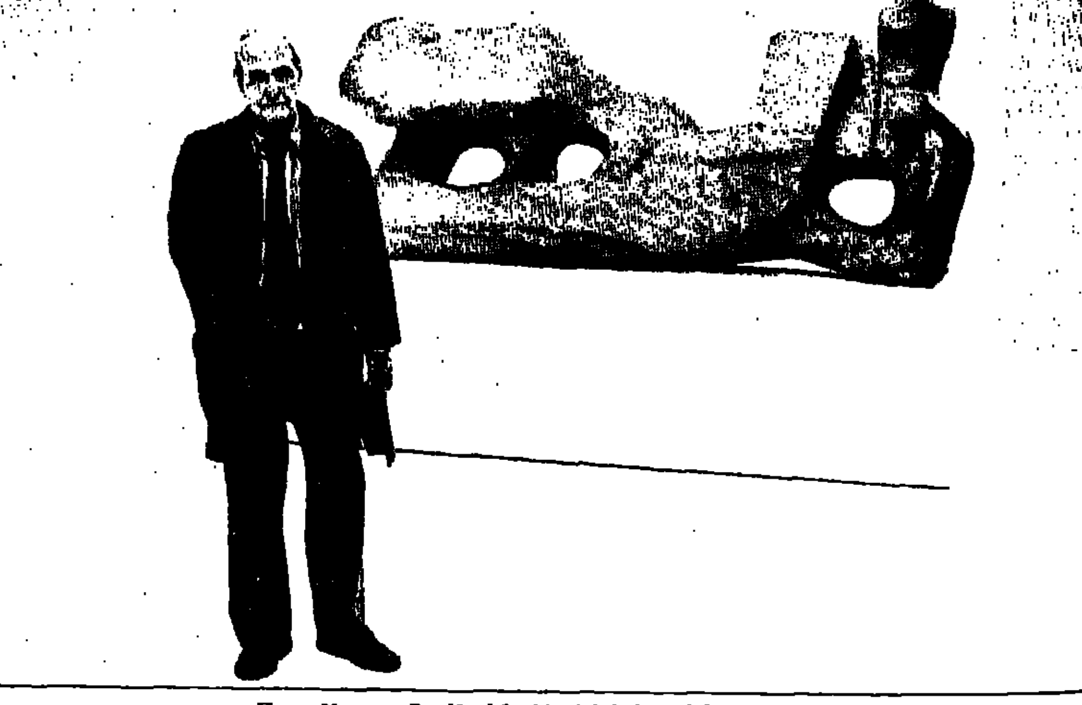
In 1921 he went to London and the RCA — and, more important, to the British Museum and its panoramic display of world art. It was now that the outstanding modern eclectic was generated. Visits to Paris from 1923 on, and then also further afield, enriched an already well-stocked visual treasury. African, Mexican, archaic Mediterranean, Indian, Michelangelo, Picasso — all sorts contributed.

It was Moore's gift of responding warmly to a wide range of art that was to make him so useful an art spokesman on our television screens. Already in the Thirties and Forties he talked on the radio about his own work and about primitive sculpture; his talks were printed in the Listener.

He was involved in various British art groups, with Hepworth, Nicholson, Paul Nash, John Piper and other rising names of the time, but he stayed clear of the abstractionist vs surrealist squabble that enlivened the Thirties. Already more of a public figure than most of his fellows, he wanted to stay above the battle; also he saw opportunities and value in the work and ideas of both sides.

The war — Moore's second — brought out a common touch in an artist so far known to be difficult. His Shelter Drawings rival that renowned photograph of St Paul's ringed with fires in shaping our folk memory of the Blitz. Moore also went north, to draw miners at the coalface beneath his native Castleford. In 1943 he began work on his most amiable public sculpture, the Madonna and Child group in St Matthew's, Northampton. This was followed by family groups in bronze, some of which ended up in the New Towns.

And then also fatherhood: in 1929 Moore had married the exquisite Irina Radetzky, a painting student at the RCA, and in 1946 their daughter Mary was born. The same years saw his first exhibitions abroad, his first honorary doctorate (from Leeds), and his first full retrospective exhibition, abroad of course, at the Museum of Modern Art in New York.



Henry Moore at Bradford for his eightieth birthday exhibition

Many other important exhibitions followed quickly, and much fame. In 1948 he won the International Sculpture Prize at the first post-war Venice Biennale. He was now an international star.

There was growing support from such men as Sir Kenneth Clark (as opposed to wild men such as Herbert Read who had written the first book about Moore as early as 1934); Clark saw the great traditionalist in him as well as the modernist.

Yet he continued as the joke avant-gardist for vox populi (or press) purposes, a gift to cartoonists thanks to the holes he carved through his torsos. One such cartoon, plus the caption "That reminds me, dear — did you remember the sandwiches?," was Fougasse's salute to the large bronze reclining figure Moore supplied to the South Bank Festival of Britain show. When that sculpture was offered to the City of Leeds a few months later at a knockdown price, the aldermen laughed loud and in public. Since then they have enlarged the City Art Gallery to accommodate a large Moore donation.

The automatic ridicule — that familiar yet peculiarly British response to anything newish in the visual arts — continued for some time. It ceased with 1972. The birthplace of the Renaissance and the city of Michelangelo accorded the unprecedented honour of exhibiting his work not only in a noble gallery but also around Florence itself.

At home it made superb television, especially the shot of the dome of Florence Cathedral seen through a Moore reclining figure set up on the Piazzale Michelangelo. That stuck. From now on Moore was a hot cultural property, and one we could love at that — even if the sculpture itself still pleased relatively few.

Moore had in fact been doing powerful and original work since the late Twenties, most of it in carved stone or wood. It was, in an important and essentially Moore way, all-embracing. The sculptures are modern yet show their allegiance to the art of other times and places. They represent a man's passion for the female but incorporate in that all sorts of wider meanings that lead them from particular anatomies towards abstraction.

The reclining woman was from early on Moore's characteristic theme, carrying intimations of life and death, enveloping landscape and sexual penetration, monumentality and intimacy. No other modern artist has been able to make his work so readily understandable and engaging on so profound a level. Posterity may well honour Moore, before all else, for bringing the achievement of modernism back into the reach of a public that had watched art swim out of its ken.

His professional example and the success that came with it was exemplary to many younger artists in Britain and elsewhere. Some of them worked for Moore as asistants, among them Anthony Caro and the present professor of sculpture at the RCA, Phillip King. Moore had to have a team to work with him on the large sculptures, and the space around his house at Perry Green in Hertfordshire became an expanding studio complex as well as a display area for his sculptures.

Moore was essentially an English Romantic and liked to see his sculpture in the open air, preferably set up monumentally on a hill, against a large horizon and an open sky. His inspiration came often from small bits of nature that he collected and kept in his little private workshop. Even his largest sculptures give one the feeling that at some point he has held them in his hands, turning them to weigh their volumes and hollows.

Most of the younger sculptures went on to other things. Moore's inevitable status as father of British sculpture could make him the target for some unfilial scoffing. Yet he had undoubtedly launched British sculpture as a movement and a force. We are hard put to it to think of his native predecessors; his successors are legion.

The OM hinted at some recognition of this role; it came in 1963 and could well have come 15 years earlier. In the Seventies Moore arranged for groups of his works to go to centres he valued: to Leeds, to Ontario, to the Tate Gallery. He was often ready to lend pieces to be set up in public places. Clearly he cared about having his work seen, and having it seen in the right way. But he was against any shrine-like institution.

Critic of BBC who became its champion

By Dennis Barker

MR STUART YOUNG, the chairman of the BBC about whom history will be kinder than some of his contemporaries, died last week from cancer in a London hospital at the age of 52 after some of the most fierce internal and political battles the BBC has ever known.

Mr Young, a chartered accountant and brother of Mrs Thatcher's favourite, Lord Young, the Secretary for Employment, joined the Board of the BBC in 1981. Two years later he became chairman.

It was thought that he would carry out Mrs Thatcher's wish to have advertising on the BBC. But, said Mr Alwyn Roberts, national governor for Wales, speaking for the whole Board of Governors: "In Stuart Young the BBC expected a critic and found a champion. His advocacy of public service broadcasting sprang from a very deep conviction of the BBC's role, not only as a broadcasting body but as a source for unity and tolerance in British life."

No. 10 Downing Street was more reticent. A spokesman said: "Mrs Thatcher has sent a message of condolence to his family. I do not think Mrs Thatcher will be saying anything by way of appreciation. I do not think she wants to make any public utterance on his contribution."

Mr Douglas Hurd, the Home Secretary, responsible for broadcasting policy was more forthcoming. "I came to value his dedication and clear good judgment. He will be remembered for his solid achievements at the BBC," he said.

Mr Young, who left Woodhouse School, Finchley, at 16, had been a director of several companies as well as appeals treasurer of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and a governor and vice-chairman of Tel-Aviv University.

But those who saw him as little more than a figures man were deceived. "When he became chairman of the BBC three years ago it was obvious he counted it the greatest honour of his life, and his commitment to the corporation, his enthusiasm and involvement in all its activities, were the solid proof of that feeling," said Mr Alasdair Milne, the BBC director-general. "We lament his passing and honour his memory."

Such cordiality was not always to be predicted. Over the Real Lives controversy relations became considerably strained. Mr. Milne said Mr Young had learned a lot from that experience. "And so did I," the director-general added cryptically.

They think it couldn't happen here

By David Fairhall

UNLIKELY as it sounds, proponents of nuclear power attending the International Atomic Energy Agency's post-mortem on the Chernobyl disaster returned from the Vienna conference not so much horrified as reassured.

Having heard the grim story of seen a dramatic Soviet video and looking straight down into the glowing remains of the exploded reactor core, they found their Russian colleagues still determined to press ahead with "an accelerated programme" of nuclear power stations.

Lord Marshall, the nuclear physicist who currently heads the Central Electricity Generating Board, was busy all week pointing out that the Ukrainian accident was the result not merely of gross operating errors but of specific weaknesses in the Russian RBMK design that made it especially vulnerable to such mistakes.

Those who believe that an accident forcing the evacuation of almost everyone within 18 miles would simply be insupportable in a crowded island like Britain, whatever the odds against its happening, should be aware of this reaction. Because over the next few months the nuclear power debate in Britain looks like being resolved.

The party conferences will be followed by publication of the Layfield report on the Sizewell B planning inquiry and if there are no surprises in that, a perfunctory parliamentary debate will probably lead to a quick Government decision to build the first of the CEGB's pressurised water reactors (PWR) in Suffolk starting next spring.

The CEGB was shaken badly by Chernobyl. Lord Marhsall must have thought for a moment that he lost his cherished PWR, and that whatever happened he would not get a decision before the next election. But each day in Vienna he emerged from the conference chamber looking more chirpy. He was encouraged first by the fact [illegible] overridden by engineers who clearly did not know what they were playing with — they turned out to be the turbine supplier's men, determined to complete an experiment before the No.4 reactor was shut down for periodic maintenance. Then he heard academician Valery Legasov acknowledge that the Russian RBMK boiling water pressure tube reactor does have inherent "shortcomings" as well as advantages, including a dangerous vulnerability to sudden power surges such as happened on April 26.

Both points add strength to the generating board chairman's argument that "it could not happen here", and that will surely be the message he brings back from Vienna to stiffen the resolve of the Energy Secretary, Peter Walker, and later Mrs Thatcher.

What Lord Marshall really means, of course, is that a similar accident is extremely unlikely to happen here — a crucially different statement. But that too was addressed by nuclear enthusiasts in the corridors of the Vienna conference. Now that a nuclear power station has actually blown up, they argued, perhaps people will feel that it was not so bad after all. Maybe it will convince the world that a nuclear war, involving the equivalent of many such explosions, must never be allowed to occur, but that an occasional power station disaster is a price worth paying for additional electricity supply. The IAEA's director of nuclear safety, Dr Morris Rosen, coolly suggested that Chernobyl had caused "a not unreasonable number of deaths".

Almost everyone who attended the Vienna conference seems to [illegible] sians' frankness [illegible] terrible mistakes were made, and by the tremendous efforts that have since been made to clear up the mess. Many of the firemen, engineers, and doctors, who stayed on duty while the exposed reactor core was still pumping out radioactivity are dead or dying. But beyond such heroism is the involuntary courage of Ukrainians who now have to put up with the continuing burden of contamination. And from this point of view, the surprising feature of the Russians' presentation in Vienna was their evident determination to have at least part of the Chernobyl site back in operation within months, not years. Contaminated topsoil is being carted away, concrete sprayed with a plastic solution to contain the radioactivity, and barrier walls built underground to prevent water seepage.

Legasov said that by the end of the month or early in October, the wreckage of reactor No.4 should have been entombed in a new one [illegible] with the remains of the engineer who was standing on top of it as it exploded. It was hoped to have reactors 1 and 2, which share the same long turbine hall, back in operation before the end of the year. And reactor 3, immediately adjacent to the radioactive tomb, was being inspected to see whether it, too, could be salvaged.

The implications of all this is that large numbers of people are soon going to be back working on the site — civilians, not soldiers drafted in from other parts of the USSR to join the decontamination squads. And this is where the reassurance Western nuclear enthusiasts are paradoxically deriving from Chernobyl begins to break down. Can one imagine British, American, German, or even French power station workers trooping back in this way, even if the more volatile radio-isotopes have already decayed? What about the wives and children? Are they going to be left outside the evacuation zone, or allowed back into their homes to share whatever risks there are? More than 100,000 people have been evacuated from the immediate area round Chernobyl. Will they be invited to choose for themselves whether and when to return or simply told that once the geiger-counter readings drop below a certain level it is safer

These are some of the questions which the Vienna conference, informative though it has been for Western specialists, may not answer. Taking their lead from Gorbachev, the Soviet authorities have admittedly been surprisingly open about their mistakes. Half the RBMK reactors are already shut down for modifications to improve their safety. Training standards are being stepped up and there is an evident determination to get the nuclear explosion programme back on schedule.

The danger in the forthcoming British debate on the future of nuclear power is that the purely technical reassurance our engineers are entitled to draw from the Ukrainian experience will blind them to the heavy human cost that will go on being paid for many years. That side of the Chernobyl story, like reactor No.4, will probably remain buried.

Britain's naval policy 'a maritime mess'

By Paul Brown

BRITAIN should build a short fat warship, far cheaper than the sleek versions now in vogue, to test whether fatter frigates would meet the Royal Navy's needs, according to Captain John Moore, editor of the influential Jane's Fighting Ships.

Captain Moore suggests that a prototype hull would cost £32 million — "a mere spit in the bucket" compared with the cost of Britain's Nimrod early warning programme, and could mean Britain getting four warships for the price of three. The cost of a fully-equipped short fat ship is put at £73.8 million, while the current Type 23 frigate costs at least £100 million.

The Government has set up a committee to evaluate the difference between the fat and the sleek design after Lord Hill-Norton's report earlier this year, which undermined conventional Navy support for the slim design.

Captain Moore says the prototype warship, which would not need to be equipped with sophisticated weaponry, could be completed in a year. The project would provide work and the result would materially assist the committee. The alternative to the existing design would be easier to build, equip, and live in, but would be slower.

Captain Moore's consideration of the cheaper ships is based on the premise that Britain needs more warships to fulfil its defence needs. He says his reference book, a bible for the world's navies, is able to give firm predictions for future size and shape of many countries', navies but not for the UK. Policy for Britain's Navy lacks coherence and is "a maritime mess," he says.

The merchant navy is in such a mess that the demise of the British flag fleet could be expected by 1990 if current trends continue, he says.

The run-down of British trained seamen, falling by 5,000 a year — a drop of 43 per cent in four years — means that Britain may not be able to muster trained crews in an emergency. He describes the drop in British shipping as "alarming" but adds, "no doubt something will be done to prevent this total run-down."

Referring to the Chernobyl disaster and the role of navies, Captain Moore says he hopes that the fall-out from the nuclear accident has brought a tinge of humanity to war planners who view nuclear war impersonally. It must be clear to them that the Navy would have no role after a nuclear exchange — there would be nothing left, he says.

In just over 40 years since the end of world war two, warships have been used to intervene on the international stage as frequently as in the 19th century. He cites Libya as the most recent example where naval strength has been decisive, and remembers the Falklands, where Britain could only just cope.

Soweto councillors flee the people's wrath

By David Beresford and Patrick Laurence in Johannesburg

MOST members of Soweto's 30-man town council fled the sprawling black township at the weekend to take refuge in Johannesburg after an upsurge of popular anger against them.

The council ordered the eviction [illegible] three-month-old rent boycott, sparking resistance and clashes with police which left at least 21 people dead last week with 98 injured.

Councillors fled after resentment against the policy of evicting people refusing to pay rent caused the brutal murder by an irate crowd of one councillor, Mr Sydenham Mkhwanazi. The homes of two others were set ablaze by angry youths.

The only councillor known to have decided not to leave for Johannesburg — the move is in breach of apartheid laws — is the suspended Mayor of Soweto, Mr Ephrain Tshabalala. A septuagenarian and Soweto veteran, Mr Tshabalala turned a deaf ear on advice to leave until public anger dies down after the planned mass funeral on Thursday of the 21 killed by police.

Even before the crisis generated by the rent boycott Soweto council had very little credibility. When elections for it were held in 1983, barely 10 per cent of voters went ot the polls.

From then on, councillors faced rejection and scorn, often manifested violently by nocturnal petrol bombers. To compensate for its lack of legitimacy, the council turned to coercion. With dozens of other councils, it asked the Government to recruit council police. Now Soweto council has the largest single contingent.

Council police have acquired a reputation for being badly trained; [illegible] shot a councillor he was supposed to be protecting in the foot. According to a Johannesburg doctor who has treated dozens of black people injured by police, those with the worst injuries were beaten up by the council police.

Soweto council has temporarily backed away from its tough policy of evicting rent defaulters, and will not order any further evictions pending full consideration of the situation, according to the town clerk, Mr Nico Malan. In July, about half Soweto's 75,000 householders refused to pay rent and the number of defaulters is now expected to increase to two-thirds.

The boycott was launched to back demands for the dissolution of the council and the withdrawal fo troops from Soweto.

The deaths in Soweto provoked a parliamentary row after a refusal of the Speaker to allow a debate on the killings.

The death toll was a "revised" figure offered by the Government's Bureau for Information, after its claims that 13 had been killed were met by widespread scepticism. It said that 20 of the dead had been killed "in security force action undertaken to protect life and property."

Anti-apartheid organisations claimed that information from hospitals and doctors indicated that 30 had been killed and 200 injured in clashes.

The Soweto killings led to tense confrontations between police and students on the country's major [illegible] Witwatersrand. In an attempted march on the city, police vehicles were stoned by students and in another incident a youth fired a shot in the air in an apparent panic as his car was mobbed.

At a press conference the Government's Information Minister, mr Louis Nel, accused the international media of painting a one-sided picture of what had happened in Soweto and he appealed to the press not to stage a "trial by newspaper."

He said that a grenade had been thrown at police and then a crowd had started throwing stones in a clear attempt to kill police. Whether police had reacted correctly would be decided at the inquest into the deaths, he said. He denied there had been any forced evictions in the area.

The inquest will be public, and police can be questioned, Mr Neil said.

In Parliament the white opposition Progressive Federal party announced its withdrawal of all cooperation with Government whips. The announcement came after they had failed to persuade the Speaker to allow them to introduce a motion calling for a judicial inquiry into the Soweto violence.

The withdrawal of cooperation was in protest against Government moves to shorten the sitting hours of the White House of Assembly, in what the opposition described as a "farcical" extraordinary session of Parliament.

The special sitting was intended [illegible] tion, but the opposition Chief Whip, Mr Brian Bamford, said that Parliament had been brought back for the second sitting under false pretences. The Government's legislative programme was in "a state of virtual collapse." They were going through a "farce" of debating legislation.

Eighteen people were injured when a parcel bomb exploded in a crowded supermarket in a white area of Durban on Monday. No deaths were reported.

The explosion took place at an outlet of the Pick n' Pay chain, which has been the target of previous bomb attacks and recently suffered a bitter nation-wide strike. The bomb was apparently left in a packet at the parcels counter. The explosion occurred as the lunchtime rush was starting.

A three-year-old baby was among those seriously hurt, according to a statement from the Government's Bureau for Information. Most of the 18 suffered only minor injuries. Ten were blacks.

In Cape Town the Government announced in parliament the names of another 786 people being held in detention without trial under the state of emergency. This seems to bring the official total to well over 9,000. The last figure released by the Government listed 8,551 in detention. Names are published only when a detainee has been held for 30 days, so the real total could be close to 10,000.

'Heavy loss of life' as Soviet liner sinks

THE sinking of the Soviet passenger liner, the Admiral Nakhimov, off the Black Sea port of Novorossiysk on Sunday night after a collision with a Russian cargo ship is believed to have caused heavy loss of life.

Casualty figures were not immediately available but the sinking of the Admiral Nakhimov, which could carry up to 1,000 passengers, was described by an official Moscow source as "a real tragedy" a statement which in Soviet parlance indicates that many people may have died. Tass earlier confirmed that the accident had caused loss of life.

A spokesman for the Soviet Merchant Navy Ministry, Mr Igor Averin, said the military and civilian rescue teams called in from all over the area were pinning their hopes of finding survivors on the relatively warm waters of the Black Sea, but he admitted that many passengers may have been caught in their cabins after

By Simon Tisdall

retiring for the night. An official in Novorossiysk said "many" ships and men were taking part in the rescue effort.

The liner was on a domestic cruise between Odessa and Batumi, near the Turkish border, when it collided with the cargo vessel, the Pyotr Vasev, soon after leaving Novorossiyk.

The liner had sailed out of harbour with all lights blazing for a gala cruise, according to witnesses, and there was a slight swell when the accident happened.

The Pyotr Vasev was understood to have been less seriously damaged. While omitting to give more details, Tass reported that a government investigatory commission under the Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Geidar Aliyev, had been created to look into the accident.

In the past the Soviet Union has delayed reports of similar accidents unless they have involved foreigners, but under the leadership of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, and particularly post-Chernobyl, Moscow has committed itself to a less secretive approach.

A Soviet citizen who sailed on the Admiral Nakimov in 1971 said that in addition to passengers in berths, many other fourth-class passengers often slept on the uppermost of the ship's four decks. The Admiral Nakhimov, originally named the Berlin by its German builders, was taken and renamed by the Soviets after the second world war.

South African priest tells of torture by police

By David Beresford in Johannesburg

A SENIOR member of the South African Catholic hierarchy won an undertaking from the Minister of Law and Order last week that he would not be tortured after he had given an horrendous account to the Pretoria Supreme Court of a 29-hour nude interrogation session.

The interrogation of Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, general secretary of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, is believed to have been carried out by members of the Defence Force. The state, while not admitting the allegations, agreed to pay his costs in the application after the undertaking to protect him had been given on behalf of the minister, Mr Louis le Grange.

In his affidavit to the court, Father Mkhatshwa said that he had been taken out of his police cell by two casually-dressed white men and told that he would "unfortunately" have to go with them. He was handcuffed and blindfolded before being driven to an unidentified place and taken into an interrogation room.

"Without any warning, someone pulled down my pants and underpants to my ankles," he said. "My vest was readjusted in a way which exposed my genitals and behind." He was ordered to sing two "freedom songs," then subjected to what he described as "rhetorical" questioning, which included allegations that he was an "instigator of violence" and fraternised with people of "Communist leanings".

Listing the abuse and assaults he had suffered, Father Mkhatshwa said:

- 1 He was left standing on the same spot for at least 30 hours — "the blindfold and handcuffs were always on" — with his genitals and buttocks left exposed for at least 29 hours.
- 2 "A creepy creature or instrument was fed into my backside. From there it would move up and down my legs, thighs and invariably ended up biting my genitals. When I cringed with pain they would laugh."
- 3 "Twice during the interrogation, shots were fired from behind and just above the back of my head."
- 4 "A watery substance was smeared on my legs and thighs — this, together with the cold air, caused much discomfort."

He said that during the 32 hours that he was in the hands of interrogators he was neither taken to the lavatory nor given water to drink. A sausage was put in his mouth at one stage and he had three bites of it.

His pants were pulled up about an hour "before the torture stopped", apparently because a "lady" had entered the room.

Father Mkhatshwa said that by the time he was taken back to police custody. "I was limping badly, because the soles of my feet were painful and my feet swollen . . . for some 90 minutes my eyes could not focus properly."

THE WEEK

THE eighth nonaligned summit opened in Harare this week with a sober critique of global military expenditure, Western failure to agree to the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests, and Western responsibility for the "heavy financial haemorrhage" and "grotesque proportions" of the $800 billion debt burden of developing countries.

"The time has come to call mankind back to sanity," the Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, said in his opening speech. "The central theme of our time is the conspicuous misuse and abuse of scarce resources in the midst of poverty, hunger and disease. The one question which precedes all others is the question of disarmament."

AS fighting intensified in southern Sudan with an attack on the town of Wau by SPLA guerrillas, the first food aim for weeks has got through to the town of Juba, according to the World Food Programme.

Two million people are close to starvation in the region, and the critical situation has been made more serious by Uganda's closure of the border with Sudan. However, UN officials said that an agreement was expected to resume food deliveries through Uganda soon.

Uganda has claimed that food aid meant for straying Sudanese has been going to armed dissidents from the previous Ugandan regime who sought base areas in Sudan.

Twenty-six lorries carrying 700 tons of grain arrived in the regional capital, Juba, on August 27 and a further 18 lorries were expected, the WEP said.

THE family of a teenage girl severely burned, allegedly by soldiers, during riots in Chile, said that two of the girl's relatives have been arrested.

Witnesses said that soldiers dowsed Carmen Quintana and Rodrigo Rojas with petrol and set them ablaze. Miss Quintana's sister and brother-in-law, who also saw the incident, have now been arrest. Miss Quintana is still gravely ill.

The U.S. Government has criticised the arrests.

Meanwhile, 11 Chilean political parties, including former supporters of the military Government of President Augusto Pinochet, launched a national campaign to press for direct and free elections.

IRAN claimed to have seized a string of strategic heights in the mountains far north of the 700-mile Gulf war front. Iraq claimed to have repulsed the attack with heavy losses.

Iran has given no indication that the latest assault, code-named Karbala II, marks the beginning of a new offensive intended to win the six-year war. It said the objective was the capture of heights, some of which have changed hands at least twice during the war.

The assault is undoubtedly part of a plan to stretch, wear down and unbalance numerically inferior and reportedly demoralised Iraqi forces in preparations for a final push. It may be a major strategic diversion indicating that a final offensive is imminent. Karbala I, the retaking of the Iranian border town of Mehran in July, had a similar limited objective.

TROOPS broke up a protest march by more than 7,000 Bolivian miners after the conservative Government of President Victor Paz ordered a nationwide 90-day state of siege. March leaders were arrested.

The troops, backed by tanks, broke up the miners' 150-mile protest march when it was 40 miles short of the capital, La Paz. Marchers were put on to trucks and sent back to the main mining areas in the 14,000-ft Altiplano, south of the capital, according to Mr Irving Alcaraz, the Deputy Minister of Information.

Scores of labour and church leaders were earlier arrested in the Government crackdown.

The march was part of a desperate survival campaign by Bolivia's tin miners, whose jobs are threatened by Government plans for a fresh round of mine closures and mass sackings following the collapse of the world tin price last year. The Government has already sacked 7,000 out of a workforce that once topped 20,000 in Comibol, the state-owned mining comapny, which is reported to have lost $246 million last year.

FINLAND is in mourning for its former president, Urho Kekkonen, who died at the age of 85. Mr Kekkonen was President of Finland from 1956 until he stepped down because of ill health in 1981.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Sterling Rates September 1	Previous Closing Rates
Australia	2.4415-2.4460	2.4429-2.4475
Austria	21.26-21.30	21.27-21.31
Belgium	62.46-62.65	62.57-62.76
Canada	2.0659-2.0686	2.0640-2.0669
Denmark	11.42-11.44	11.46-11.47
France	9.89-9.91	9.91-9.93
Germany	3.014-3.018	3.02-3.04
Hong Kong	11.61-11.62	11.60-11.61
Ireland	1.0959-1.0999	1.1015-1.1025
Italy	2,083-2,087	2,087-2,091
Japan	229.24-229.61	229.74-230.34
Netherlands	3.39-3.40	3.41-3.42
Norway	10.84-10.86	10.84-10.86
Portugal	215.31-216.94	215.62-217.25
Spain	196.69-196.97	196.66-196.95
Sweden	10.24-10.25	10.24-10.25
Switzerland	2.433-2.437	2.44-2.45
USA	1.4900-1.4910	1.4865-1.4875
ECU	1.4385-1.4402	1.4418-1.4437

FT 30 Share Index 1322.7 · Gold $391.75

Britain cool to new action

Continued from page 1

to reject any US request to use British bases for another attack against Libya. "In view of the public outcry on the last occasion when the Americans used facilities here to launch their attacks, the British government should make it quite clear that the Americans would not be authorised to use Nato bases in this country for any such strike," he said.

The Nato commander, General Bernard Rogers, who is also independently commander of US forces in Europe, said in an interview that any future bombing of Libya might better be carried out directly from the United States by B-52 bombers. He emphasised that he was not speaking in his official capacity *(Report, page 15)*. In Tripoli, Colonel Gadafy vowed to lead an international army to fight the US. His whole tone was reminiscent of the pre-bombing period and contrasted with remarks by his deputy, Major Jalloud, who had offered to cooperate with the US in tracking down terrorists.

Russians hold U.S. journalists

By Hella Pick

SOVIET authorities have arrested Mr Nicholas Daniloff, one of the most experienced members of the US press corps, in Moscow, for alleged spying. His arrest threatens to cause new friction in US-Soviet relations at a crucial moment.

Moscow dismissed US protests that the arrest was contrived, and that an innocent man had been framed. But Mr Daniloff's wife, Ruth, believes that his detention is linked to last week's arrest in New York of Mr Gennadi Zakharov, a Soviet scientists working at the UN, on charges of industrial espionage.

Neither man has diplomatic immunity, and Soviet authorities may be hoping to secure the scientist's release by holding Mr Daniloff hostage.

The American's arrest comes less than three weeks before the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, meets his Soviet counterpart, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, to decide whether the political climate is ready for summit dates to be named.

The US, which has strongly protested at the arrest and has called for the journalist's immediate release, rejects suggestions that he may have been "engaged in activities incompatible with his status as a journalist".

Mr Daniloff, who works for the respected weekly, US News and World Report, was arrested on Saturday after meeting a Soviet acquaintance in the Lenin Hills on Moscow's outskirts, where they exchanged farewell gifts to mark the end of the American journalist's Soviet assignment. Mr Daniloff, in return for gifts of two horror novels, was given an envelope, which his friend said contained innocuous newspaper clippings.

But moments after they parted, eight KGB officers arrived on the scene. The envelope turned out to contain two maps and incriminating photographs marked top secret.

Mr Daniloff was taken to a KGB interrogation centre in Moscow, where he was questioned for more than four hours, but it was not until midday on Sunday that Tass confirmed the detention, saying that Mr Daniloff had been arrested "engaging in an act of espionage". The report, quoting the KGB, said: "The material confiscated from him fully exposes the US correspondent as being involved in intelligence activities. An investigation is underway into Mr Daniloff's case."

No formal charges have been made so far. Strenuous efforts are being made by the State Department and Mr Daniloff's employers to secure his release.

Mr Henry Trewitt, the magazine's deputy editor, said: "We vehemently reject any suggestion that Daniloff was engaged in improper activities. From the information we have, it is clear this was a phony arrest, and that he is being framed."

The KGB tried two years ago to frame Mr Daniloff, according to a Soviet emigré in the US. Professor Alexander Goldfarb, of Columbia University, said that his father was asked by secret police in April, 1984, to ask the correspondent to smuggle a package of written material out of the Soviet Union. When his father, a retired professor of genetic engineering, refused, his visa to leave the Soviet Union was cancelled. Professor Goldfarb arrived in the US 11 years ago.

Mr Daniloff, aged 52, is of Russian origin, speaks the language fluently, and had a reporting spell in Moscow in the 1960s. He has been Moscow bureau chief for US News and World Report for the last 5½ years, and had been due to end his tour on September 8, although he had planned to stay on for another month or two to complete a book about his Russian roots.

Western correspondents often meet their Soviet contacts in places where they can be reasonably secure from intrusive bugging. In Mr Daniloff's case he was saying goodbye to a young teacher, "Misha," whom he planned to introduce to his successor. However, Saturday's meeting was at the woman's request.

Mr Daniloff's English wife, Ruth, who visited her husband accompanied by the US consul, said afterwards that he was in good physical condition and in good spirits.

SPD plans direct talks with Moscow

WEST GERMANY'S main opposition party, the SPD, plans to conduct its own negotiations with the Soviet Union if, as expected, President Reagan insists on maintaining the cruise and Pershing-II missiles on German soil.

In a radical set of proposals, the SPD congress unanimously resolved last week that if it returns to power at the elections in January, it will no longer allow the US to negotiate arms control in its name.

Some observers had thought that with the approach of new elections the party might modify the opposition to cruise and Pershing which it developed after losing the 1983 election. But the defence resolution passed last week pledges the party to reverse the parliamentary vote by which the deployment of cruise and Pershings was adopted four years ago.

This, it says, will give a Socialist Chancellor "full freedom to negotiate" because the SPD is not prepared to go on accepting fruitless superpower negotiations. "Where the vital interests of European states are at stake Social Democrats will take their own initiatives," the resolution says.

According to senior party officials, this means that Mr Johannes Rau as new Chancellor would first ask President Reagan to remove the missiles. If he says the issue should be left to the Geneva talks, Mr Rau would approach the Russiians separately to find out what response in terms of Soviet reductions they would make to a unilateral withdrawal of cruise and Pershings from West Germany. Armed with a favourable reply, the Chancellor would then approach the other Western European members of Nato to press the US to move.

The tactic of taking unilateral steps and then seeking reciprocation by the other side — but not making progress conditional on it — coincides with that of the Labour Party in Britain. In important passages the SPD resolution says: "Limited independent steps to arms limitation and reduction which do not harm one's defence potential can bring about and facilitate essential negotiations" and "the process does not depend on the Eastern side joining in immediately or simultaneously".

According to the SPD, West Germany's defence should be based on a removal of all battlefield nuclear weapons and medium-range nuclear missiles and the transformation of Nato's conventional posture into one of "structural non-aggression capability".

In normal language that means a posture which is purely defensive and would remove Nato's ability to attack the Warsaw Pact countries. This would be designed to start a

By Jonathan Steele in Nuremburg

process whereby, according to Andreas von Bulow, who introduced last week's defence resolution, Nato could eventually defend itself in Europe without US troops.

Von Bulow, a former State Secretary in the Defence Ministry, revealed that a secret study for the ministry found that 35 per cent of the West German army's officers and 65 per cent of their NCOs considered the use of nuclear weapons unjustified in any circumstances.

The SPD also calls, more explicitly than before, for the Warsaw Pact to change its aggressive posture by abandoning its reliance on tanks and a strategy of rapid forward mobility. Its resolution alerts the public to the Rogers Plan, which has been little discussed outside professional circles. Nato, it says, should abandon the new strategy of follow-on-force-attack, which gives it the capability of striking deep into eastern Europe. By doing so, Nato would not endanger its security and could still make any Warsaw Pact attack unacceptably costly by unilaterally switching to new forms of border defence, the resolution says.

Running through the entire SPD policy is a regularly repeated belief that West Germany and other European nations must now have a stronger, more independent voice, within Nato. "In spite of all our economic strength you would sometimes think from the loudness of our voice that we were San Marino," said one delegate.

When the issue of the US bombing of Tripoli and Benghazi was raised in the debate delegates defied the executive and passed a resolution calling for an SPD government to cancel the 1982 "Wartime Host Nation-Support Treaty". This bilateral US-West German treaty provides for the stationing in Germany of supplies which the US can use, as the resolution put it, "for intervention in wars outside the Nato area" — and without consulting the Bundestag.

The executive had hoped that the delegates would be happy with a resolution condemning both the US attacks on Libya and the bomb in the West Berlin nightclub, and urging the Kohl government "not to go on permanently shutting its eyes to injustices on the Western side". But a majority of delegates wanted more than that.

Earlier in the week, Mr Rau had promised that the party would move to shut down all nuclear power stations within 10 years and stop plans for West Germany's first fast-breeder reactor at Kalkar and the nuclear reprocessing plant at Wackersdorf. West Germany must become the world leader in new technologies to adapt the chemical and energy industries to forms of production which no longer harmed the environment, he said to loud applause.

He had five broad goals: First, to link the industrial society to the new demands of the protection of the environment; second, to bring about social peace with social justice; third, to make the SDP the party of freedom, fourth, to achieve sexual equality in employment and education and fifth, to safeguard international peace.

Germany to curb refugees

By our own reporter

WEST GERMANY will impose financial sanctions on airlines who take passengers without proper papers, the Government announced last week.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl said: "The Federal Republic is not and cannot be a country of immigration. The number of asylum seekers climbs from month to month. If this continues, we will have to reckon with a record of over 100,000 this year and only around 16 per cent are eventually recognised as victims of political persecution."

Visa requirements would be introduced for citizens of Lebanon, Syria, Ghana, Pakistan and Bangladesh, the native countries of many of the refugees, Chancellor Kohl said.

If the airlines failed to check that such passengers had visas for West Germany, they would be liable to pay for the return journeys of such travellers. They would also face a fine of 2,000 marks (£650) for each illegal passenger. Bonn would not, turn away people who had a genuine right to political asylum.

Mentally ill 'beaten'

MENTALLY ill men and women are being chained, imprisoned, and tortured at a shrine in western India in efforts to exorcise "demons", the Indian Express newspaper reported last week.

Hundreds of disturbed people were taken to the Mira Data shrine every day for treatment of numerous disorders. One of the paper's reporters, Pradha Sonj, saw on a recent visit at least six people "beaten and pushed around" by relatives and caretakers. Others were tied or chained, she reported.

The shrine to a Muslim holy man is at the village of Unava, 108 miles from Ahmedabad. The "mad" are chained like animals, pulled and goaded by relatives and caretakers and forced to participate in strange rituals.

"Sometimes the Satan riding a person turns violent and needs to be thrashed," said Khadim Waris Ali Saiyed, a priest at the shrine. A woman in her late twenties was being dragged by her husband to be chained to a pillar screaming "please don't beat me". Her wrists were cut and scarred, indicating years of chaining.

US finally admits H-bomb error

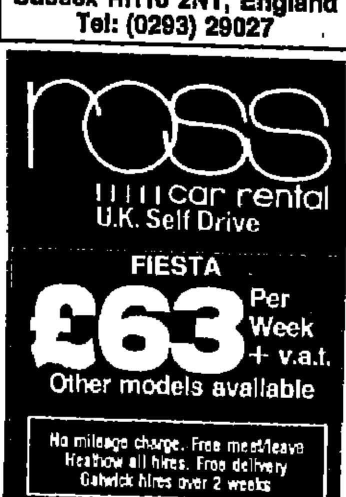
By Michael White in Washington

THE nuclear-sophisticated citizens of New Mexico, where the atomic age was born, went to bed last week at last knowing that the bomb which accidently fell from an air force B-36 just south of Albuquerque 29 years ago was one of the largest hydrogen bombs ever made. But there was never any danger of a nuclear explosion.

The US Air Force belatedly acknowledged an accident, one of an admitted 32 of a nuclear character, only in 1981. But the details of the accident, which resulted in a 12ft-deep crater in empty land owned by the University of New Mexico, have now been obtained by a reporter for the Albuquerque Journal under the US Freedom of Information Act.

He established that the bomb was a 42,000-pounder, known as the Mark 17, and equivalent to ten megatons or one million tons of high explosives — 70 Hiroshimas or 25 Chernobyls.

It was not primed at the time and non-governmental scientists at the Natural Resources Defence Council (NRDC) agreed with the authorities last week that there had never been any danger of a nuclear explosion, although its non-nuclear explosives detonated harmlessly. "The Mark 17 was primitive by today's standards in terms of safety devices," said Dr Stan Norris of the NRDC which was recently allowed to set up a private monitoring system inside the Soviet Union.



Gearing up for the war

By Victoria Brittain
In Harare

IN THE crisp highland air of southern Africa's spring, Zimbabwe's capital, dazzling with scarlet, purple and pink flowering trees, and bustling with crowds of weekend shoppers, exudes a confident defiance of the grim social and economic realities of this embattled continent.

Against the background of this soft, flower-filled peace and prosperity, one hundred countries representing two thirds of the world, will commit themselves to a 13-point economic sanctions plan against South Africa. It will bring a bitter economic war into the open and is intended to be a war to the death — the death of white South Africa, not of its black neighbours: Zimbabwe will undoubtedly be the first to suffer. It has the most to lose.

The dominating theme of the 8th non-aligned summit is South Africa, and how to stop the havoc it is wreaking in the lives of millions outside its borders as well as inside. The shattered shell of the ANC's house and office in the heart of Harare, blown up by infiltrating South African soldiers in May, has been left in ruins to show all visitors here the every day price of South African action in this region.

The rubble is in sharp contrast to the rest of central Harare with its clean, wide streets, its cinemas showing the same films as are in the West End of London, its department stores filled with good quality locally-made goods, its bars and cafes thronged with people, its taxis waiting on every street corner. Such scenes of urban normality and affluence would be unimaginable in the capital of any other frontline state — Maputo, Luanda, or Dar es Salaam. In those broken cities the great flowering hedges of scented jasmine and the brilliance of flame trees and bougainvillea, which so fit Harare's ease, contrast sharply with a dour wartime lifestyle.

This Harare summit is a watershed in the confrontation between South Africa and its Western backers, and the rest of the world community supporting wounded black Africa.

For many of the nonaligned, far away from Africa and preoccupied with their own worsening economic problems, South Africa's civil war, its illegal occupation of Namibia, and its myriad attacks on the frontline states, had previously been the stuff of a ritualised annual denunciation at the UN.

But the Harare Special Declaration now involves every member. It demands the cutting of air and sea links with South Africa, an end to sales of oil and petrol, and to the importing of South African argicultural, toruist and intellectual links.

The 13 points go considerably further than the sanctions agreed at the Commonwealth mini-summit and which Britain then dissented from. Britain's choice of isolation over the modest package of sanctions gave the rest of the Commonwealth and now the non-aligned the green light to go for this punishing package. "There is a need for action, and action, now," Prime Minister Robert Mugabe said here just before the summit opened.

The base of the Special Declarations was laid at the OAU summit in July and the Luanda frontline summit last month. The fragility and long-term structural dependence on South Africa of the economies of these countries means that the practical leverage they have themselves is strictly limited.

But in Harare they are mobilising a different level of economic and political muscle. The 101 member countries include such economic heavyweights as India, Indonesia, Argentina and Malaysia. Specially-invited observers such as Greece, Sweden, Australia, and the behind-the-scenes influence-builder, the Commonwealth Secretariat, underline how this opportunity is being seized to force Africa's long-running crisis higher on the world agenda.

Nicaragua, also trying to sharpen the international focus on its own war funded by Washington, has proposed holding the next summit in Managua. President Daniel Ortega prepared the ground by touring several non-aligned states last month including Yugoslavia, today a rather marginalised founding father. The Nicaraguan proposal, which is unlikely to win majority support, illustrates the drive of the non-aligned for political relevance. The movement's credibility has been undermined by its inability to solve conflicts between member states, notably the Iran-Iraq war. But conflicts which oppose a member or region to a Western power or ally rouse all the moral fervour of the movement's early days in the heat of the anti-colonial struggle.

Last month the frontline states, boosted by Nigeria, the new OAU leader, Colonel Denis Sassou Nguesso of Congo, and other African powers behind the scenes, met in Luanda. In Mexico the leaders of the six-nation peace initiative met — India, Sweden, Tanzania, Argentina, Mexico, and Greece. A clear consensus emerged for far-reaching sanctions, for increased practical aid, including military, to the ANC and Swapo, for a solidarity fund and increased military defences for the frontline states. All are steps forward in a confrontation which none have taken willingly or lightly. Rajiv Gandhi's attitude has been the key in tipping the scale towards taking non-aligned group responsibility for the South African war — which few here believe can be avoided.

But on the other side, the advocates of peace-at-any price have acquired a well-connected and well-endowed ally. Israel, one of the few open friends of South Africa, has recently had major diplomatic successes in black Africa. The Prime Minister visited Morocco and resumed diplomatic ties with the Cameroon during an official visit. Togo, the Central African Republic, Gabon, and Guinea are expected to be the first group to follow suit. Ivory Coast, which recognised Israel last year after Liberia and Zaire, has become the African spokesman for dialogue with Pretoria. Last month President Houphouet Boigny described President Botha as a moderate who "should be helped to understand the need to put an end to apartheid." The president went on to predict that in an uprising in South Africa the black would be beaten . . . "Remember what happened between 100 million Arabs and 2.5 million Israelis . . . The Arabs were beaten. It is the same situation in South Africa."

But the conservative group in the non-aligned movement, headed by Singapore, can never muster a top-flight star to dominate these huge unwieldy summits. At New Delhi in 1983, Mrs Gandhi, Fidel Castro and Yasser Arafat towered over the meeting with their sober denunciations of US policy to the Third World, particularly on the spending on the arms race and the attitudes of the international economic institutions.

The other side of Cameroon

POISON gas apart, the sudden loss of hundreds of Cameroon citizens has not been a unique experience in the four-year rule of President Paul Biya. In 1984 independent sources estimated that as many as 2,000 people died after an attempted coup against his government.

In June this year, Amnesty International appealed to President Biya to release people arrested after a wave of dissent at his birthplace, the southern town of Sangmelia, where school children were said to have been beaten by police. Amnesty has reported no progress. Exiles speak of suppression, torture and concentration camps in a one-party state guided by official French advisers.

The Biya saga is as bizarre as any devised by the French. He was groomed at France's elite Ecole d'Administration, returning to become head of the Civil Service, and was then hand-picked as Prime Minister by President Ahmadou Ahidjo.

In 1982 events took a strange turn. According to ex-President Ahidjo's supportes, Ahidjo was told by French doctors that he was seriously ill and should stand down. Biya succeeded him. Discovering after a second medial opinion that he had been tricked, Ahidjo clung to a vestige of power. But after a split with Biya he departed to France in 1983 and now lives near Nice.

Soon after, President Biya announced that a conspiracy to assassinate him had been uncovered. In his absence, Ahidjo was sentenced to an unspecified term for hatching the plot. He was blamed for the following year's abortive coup by Republican Guards, of which he denied any knowledge.

Perhaps reflecting that what France gives France can take away, Biya has been attempting to reduce his sponsor's dominant influence on the economy and security — hence Shimon Peres's recent visit, say some observers. Then there is France's avid coverage of l'Affaire Tillier.

Recently, the French media claimed that a Sunday newspaper journalist, Jacques Tillier, had been hired by the Biya regime to spy on ex-President Ahidjo and trail him to Dakar. Tillier's other alleged task was to boost Cameroon's image and that of Biya, a lacklustre performer. The Cameroon Government admitted the contract with Tillier, who is writing a book about the affair.

Cameroon has 285 languages but a central cause of friction has been discrimination against the English-speaking minority by the French-speaking rulers. Officially, Anglo-Cameroon relations are excellent. But President Biya may have sensed veiled disapproval on his visit here last year, when the band struck up with "I'm the King of the Jungle, the Jungle VIP".

Liberty and the pursuit of goodness

By Michael White in Washington

WHEN little Deanna Young shopped her parents to the drugs squad in Tustin, California, the other day, she did more than whet the appetites of fast-buck television producers eager to tell her life story, all 18 years of it. She also gave a jolt to the libertarian debate which has enthralled the republic ever since it shook off the chains of monarchical tyranny.

Nancy Reagan seems to have been first off the mark. Deanna "must have loved her parents a great deal" to get them busted, she trilled, prompting ABC TV to make Deanna a Person Of The Week and assorted libertarians to protest that until we know more [illegible] we should not rush to applaud such an Orwellian social policy.

Actually the country is awash with social Orwellians, not all of them "moral majority" conservatives, whereas the First Lady may simply have been motivated by psephological policy in an election year. There is no other reason for most of the nation's politicians suddenly to hurl themselves on to the anti-cocaine bandwagon, demanding life sentences for pipe salesmen in New York, war on Mexico, and urine tests for pretty well everyone who hasn't already followed the President's urging and peed into a bottle in front of a witness.

There can have been nothing like it since LBJ ran the Vietnam war from his lavatory seat. In what has been dubbed "jar wars" 78 White House staff have obeyed the call, starting predictably with the compulsively obliging Vice-President Bush (he would have peed into his leader's bottle if there was any danger that Mr Reagan might be emulating Jack Kennedy's occasional resort to a joint with a girlfriend).

Even in the age of Jeffrey Archer such frenzied responses strike Europeans as odd. But they are deeply ingrained in the American character, in which a fierce impulse towards life, liberty and the pursuit of individual happiness competes with a puritanical impulse to give the process a high-minded collective shove.

This is the nation which actually banned the sale of alcohol (1920-33) for as long as it took Deanna to shop her ma and pa and where sexual practices rampant in the marriage beds of Solihull and Cheadle remain technically illegal in the State of Georgia along with what is known as sodomy. Needless to say all permutations of booze, sex and drugs are available at the flick of a cable TV switch or a credit card. Such are the contradictions of a zeal for liberty *and* goodness.

The great communicator is better at log chopping than logic chopping. His anti-communism appears sincere, his moral majority rhetoric rather less so. So far as we can tell, his personal instincts are lazily tolerant to a fault, as well they might be after a lifetime in Hollywood and politics and raising a family as zany as his own.

The trouble is the President tolerates acolytes who aren't moralising zealots like Attorney General Meese who recently organised his own anti-porn commission, only to see a free enterprise type make a porn video of its rather explicit hearings.

So the great log chopper talks one way while his government acts the other. He favours allowing each state to decide whether to raise the ludicrously low 55mph speed limit, imposed during the Carter oil crisis and found to save lives as well as gas. But when Nevada recently tried to restore the 70mph limit on its vast empty highways a federal official sitting in the Nevada highways office instantly withdrew millions of dollars in road grants. The order raising the speed limit was revoked in 90 seconds.

Similar pressure for "voluntary" compliance by the states (as by federal employees in "jar wars") is used to make seat belt law compulsory and to raise the drinking law from 18 to 21, a "neo-prohibitionist" trend currently evident across a country supposedly in the grip of a cocaine epidemic. The anti-smoking lobby has just opened up a campaign to ban the weed altogether from commercial aircraft. Booze and cigs advertising continues to flourish in the name of free speech. Actor Reagan used to make a few bob doing Chesterfield ads himself.

Drinking — at home as well as in public — is already banned to under 21-year-olds in the Maryland and Virginia suburbs of Washington. Mayor Barry, running for re-election in November, and with his opponents leaking his expenses to the press, has come out in favour of bringing the capital into line. Meanwhile, children buy forged drivers' licences with their photo and false date of birth for a few dollars (routinely demanded in singles bars), drink anyway, then drive Mom's car home.

No one suggests raising the driving age limit to help curb road deaths. It is currently 16, 15 in a few places. But that would strike at the fabric of American life, just as it would to place effective curbs on the sale and use of the kind of weapons which once shot Mr Reagan and two weeks ago despatched 15 postmen with a haste not usually associated with the US postal service.

In these instances the nanny-ish instincts which are remarkably strong here run up against entrenched majority prejudice among the folk who cast votes: "Rampant majoritarianism," as the libertarians of left and right despairingly put it. At the Cato Institute, which preaches that capitalism is what people do when you let them get on with it, director Ed Crane says that the political system is vulnerable to tiny minorities "who want to control other people's lives" as Thomas Jefferson feared. He regards Reagan as a weak [illegible] whose new appointee as chief justice, William Rehnquist, is plainly a statist, who approves of government power more than a good American should.

At the American Civil Liberties Union, villified by the Meese-ites, they have two tests for liberty: is it constitutional? and is it rational? Thus round-the-clock drugs raids and "jar wars" would arguably be rational, but would breach fourth amendment protection against arbitrary search and seizure and the fifth (against self-incrimination). Current gun law is justified by the right to bear arms (the second amendment), though ACLU tactfully believes it could constitutionally be modified.

Yet the outsider cannot escape concluding that the defence of liberty is in better shape here than in post-monarchical Europe, our own crowned Republic included. The American search for happiness may produce wild swings from prohibition to hippiedom and back again. But where there is movement there is hope. An Official Secrets Act could never have lasted so long even in a society where they prudishly tell you not to undress on Rehobeth Beach because it is [illegible] happened during my sister's family's recent visit.

For if the American people are more conformist than might be expected, that conformity includes a commitment to an historic sense of liberty of the individual. The consensus which protects excesses of gun law also protects excesses of free speech, Barry Goldwater and Hugh Heffner in the same lobby against what Cato's Mr Crane calls "blue-noses like Ed Meese".

Meanwhile, little Deanna Young is still in the custody of Orangewood Children's Home. But the lawyers are working on it.

Our new man in Washington

By Michael White

THE new British ambassador to the United States, Sir Tony Acland, has now arrived. His main task will be to attempt to reconcile perceptions of an enduring "special relationship" with underlying realities of the modern age.

His job is made more difficult by contemporary communications which allow heads of government to speak instantly by telephone.

In the case of Mrs Thatcher and President Reagan, they do that willingly, but Sir Antony will probably have to deal with their successors as well.

An Arabist, who once freed slaves in Dubai in the name of the Queen, he takes over from the theatrical Sir Oliver Wright at a time when British diplomacy has finally wrested the revised IRA extradition treaty from a sceptical Congress. But further prospects for Anglo-American difficulties are already discernible. Most conspicuously they exist over trade, arms control and the desire to sustain a united front over sanctions against South Africa in the face of conflicting pressures.

In return for the tenancy of Lutyens's magnificent residence on Massachusetts Avenue, Sir Antony, aged 56, has given up the permanent under-secretaryship at the Foreign Office to which he succeeded at an unusually early age, just as the Falklands war began in 1982.

Although it reinforced Anglo-American sentiment, that war inaugurated a frosty relationship between the Foreign Office and Downing Street during Mr Francis Pym's unhappy tenure. It later thawed under Sir Geoffrey Howe, but has since cooled again — most notably over apartheid and southern Africa. But, like several colleagues tested by that experience, Sir Antony's standing with the Prime Minister survived, although he is said to be more of a traditional Foreign Office type than his successor, Sir Patrick Wright.

When much of the "special relationship" has gone, the British embassy in Washington still enjoys a notable social cachet and Sir Antony's arrival has already begun generating respectful media coverage, including a generous profile in the Washington Post. Sir Oliver and Lady Wright left earlier this summer to a deluge of rave notices.

Sir Oliver's sole known advice to his successor was "always make sure the shower curtain is inside the bath," essential to survival here, although Sir Antony was at the British UN mission in New York 20 years ago, as well as serving as ambassador to Luxembourg and to Spain during the transition to democracy.

Sir Oliver's enthusiasm for things Reaganite and Thatcherite has led to some suggestions that his stewardship sometimes lacked the detachment of his trade. Sir Antony, who served as private secretary to both Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Mr James Callaghan at the FO, is a more reserved and cerebral figure from an eminent upper middle class family of soldiers, scholars and, in W. H. Smith of bookshop fame, even a Liberal cabinet minister.

COMMENT

Recklessness with the British navies

THE enemies, if any, of the editor of Jane's Fighting Ships might suspect him of courting controversy but would hardly accuse him of leftist leanings. So when, for example, he detects "other than strictly practical considerations" in America's use of F-111s from Britain against Libya in April, just as the same aircraft return here amid new tension between Washington and Tripoli, we are entitled to sit up and take notice. In the new edition of his book, Captain John Moore argues that US Navy planes from carriers only 200 miles out — where they are again today — could have dropped twice as many bombs (at much lower risk and cost) in the time it took the F-111s to fly around Spain. Whether their deployment was to appease the US Air Force or to coerce America's allies, he [illegible] illogical approach to an operational problem" ought to prompt a search for "some form of subterfuge". Official statements that the aircraft are back to join a long-planned Nato exercise are no comfort: that is what they said last time.

But even subterfuges need coherent thought, which is more than Captain Moore can find in Western, particularly British, maritime policy, mercantile and naval. All he sees is "general apathy in what was once one of the great mercantile nations with a great pride in its Royal Navy . . . a maritime mess". He projects the total disappearance of the British Merchant Navy in about four years from present trends. "No doubt something will be done to prevent this total run-down," he says hopefully, "but the figures are alarming."

Shipbuilding is all but a lost art here; our shipowners feel obliged in a mercantile ice-age to "flag out" their vessels and register them where it is most convenient; and those responsible for the Royal Navy lack ideas about its role as conspicuously as they lack the funds to keep up with modern technology. British yards have fallen prey to fierce competition from low-wage economies as well as long traditions of managerial incompetence, union intransigence and government vacillation. Owners choose flags of convenience so they can cut expenses, and sometimes corners; their ships are not automatically available in time of national need. There is no sign of a long-term programme for the Navy.

All this amounts to a reckless policy for a nation which is both an island and specially dependent on foreign trade. All three aspects of the problem are inextricably linked, as the prime role of a navy is the protection (not only in wartime) of trade, which will always need shipping. The row about "short fat" versus "long thin" warships has already dragged on for a decade, though the former might reduce costs by a quarter. Captain Moore robustly cuts this Gordian knot by demanding the construction of one "short fat" prototype (at a tiny fraction of the horrifying bill for Nimrod, to say nothing of Trident) to settle the matter. Why not indeed? More generally, if any industries are of vital, strategic and economic interest to Britain they must include shipbuilding and shipping. To leave them wholly exposed to free market forces, which include foreign protectionism and low Third World [illegible] wallow in uncertainty about its future, is a prime example of the false economy for which Britain is increasingly notorious. Nor is it a sign of nostalgia or militarism to be concerned about Britain's headlong retreat from the sea. It is plain, old-fashioned, nonpartisan common sense. We need a maritime strategy as a matter of life and death.

Report, page 5

The Washington Post

A Frame-Up In Moscow

IT IS an outrage that Nicholas Daniloff, the American correspondent for US News & World Report in Moscow, has been set up, arrested, and imprisoned by the KGB. We were going to say it is also a stupidity, but this presumes that the eight bullies who came for Daniloff, along with those who authorised and sent them, have any concern for either the injustice of what they have done or its certain consequences so far as some of Moscow's vaunted policy goals vis-a-vis the U.S. are concerned.

A word about Nick Daniloff himself. He is well known [illegible] all the right reasons. Daniloff is a hard-working, well-versed, unassuming, extremely intelligent and energetic reporter. He has been in Moscow for several years on this, his second tour there, and his reports are greatly respected. None of this, as you will already have been thinking, is the sort of thing that would ingratiate him with Soviet authorities. His journalistic instincts and his degree of understanding are both too good. But these same attributes make it inconceivable that Nick Daniloff would have been engaged in the kind of transaction of which he stands accused.

It is speculated that the crude entrapment and seizure of Daniloff were undertaken by the Soviets for the purpose of acquiring a hostage to trade for Gennadi Zakharov, a Soviet science official who has been arrested and charged with espionage against the United States. But whatever the Soviets may hope to gain from this travesty, they stand to lose much more. On the eve of an array of negotiations with this country that depend — at least in some measure — on an assumption of good faith and a desire to cooperate in the pursuit of some common interests, they have chosen to dramatize all that is most arbitrary, ugly, and cynical in their system. Daniloff should be freed — now.

Report, page 7

Junk violence for our children

MORE people should be concerned about what is happening to children's television in Britain. Ever since the days of Muffin the Mule and Sooty there has always been a connection between the programmes shown on children's TV and the kind of toys that children aspire to possess. With the spread of early morning television that connection has become big business. If you doubt that, then have a look at the adverts on TV-AM some morning and see at whom they are aimed. But the adverts are not the problem now. What makes the connection a matter of real concern today is the change in the nature of the programmes off which they feed.

That change is currently embodied in a number of science fiction cartoons, featuring characters such as Transformers, Decepticons, and Gobots. Of course, somewhere in some department of media studies there will be a semiotician who will prove that the ideological sub-text of Larry the Lamb was as pointed and poisonous as anything in the contemporary output. But common sense tells any other adult viewer that today's problem consists of a novel chemistry between four elements in these cartoons. One, they are American; two, they are consistently violent; three, they are indissolubly linked to the marketing of toys and other merchandise; and four, they are pernicious rubbish. It is a dangerous combination. The values extolled in the cartoons are unremittingly military, hi-tech, intolerant, macho, and imperialist. And they are very popular, especially with boys. The autobot Optimus Prime and the Transformer cars — both intensively advertised to the juvenile dawn audience — were two of the three top-selling toys in the 1985 Christmas season, netting millions of pounds (ultimately yen) for their manufacturers.

Yet, so far as one can see, the broadcasting authorities are not in any serious way concerned with the effect which this material may have on the audience which will watch it. The BBC and the IBA are both to blame, but now it is the BBC which seems to be making the running in the abandonment of standards and responsibility. Its autumn children's schedules, announced last week, will feature another American series, not yet shown in this country, called Thundercats. According to the blurb, Thundercats features "a team of superheroes with distinctly cat-like characteristics" (like being sick on the sitting room sofa, perhaps?) who are locked in struggle with "their enemies, evil Mutants from the planet Plundarr". What the blurb doesn't say is that the spin-off toys from the series are all ready and waiting in the shops for the Christmas rush and that the show is currently the subject of a complaint to the US Federal Communications Commission by more than 150 American organisations, including teachers' unions. The complainants say that Thundercats and 60 other series are produced by companies in which editorial control rests with the toy manufacturers. Quite apart from its other questionable qualities, therefore, the programme is, in effect, alleged to be a programme-length commercial.

The Thundercats decision is by no means an isolated case of the supposedly independent and advertising-free BBC's subordination of editorial standards to commercial pressures. Sports coverage and chat shows have been the cause of repeated complaints, too. Nor are Thundercats and the Transformer series the only examples of the needless import of American junk violence on to our screens. But there is something particularly repugnant about such abnegation of responsibility at the expense of children. There is so much good material on children's television that it seems almost deliberate wickedness for the broadcasters to abuse their audience with such programmes. What on earth are the governing bodies of the BBC and the independent sector doing to get rid of such rubbish? Or is all the talk about upholding decent standards just hypocrisy?

Passing the buck on visas

Continued from page 1

passport control areas of the airport, increased bills for hotel accommodation for those who cannot be processed on the day of arrival. This, it is argued, presents a poor first impression of Britain for the arrivals, an unnecessary cost to the public purse, and intolerable stress for the immigration officers at the front end.

Leave aside the fact that tourism is one of our most important industries, and that at a time when many American visitors have been frightened off through spurious fears of terrorism it might be thought commercially sensible to encourage tourism whencesoever it comes. Take the problems of Heathrow as described by the ISU and think of sensible measures to improve the situation. You could, perhaps, decide that the problem is one of shortage of immigration officers. Slightly awkward that spending cuts have produced a reduction in numbers employed, but that could be reversed in the light of increased numbers of visitors. That solution has not been chosen. More will be employed, but not here where unemployment runs at intolerable levels. They will be employed, in unquantified numbers, in certain specified countries of embarkation.

Which is where we come to the nub of the decision. Australians and New Zealanders, Canadians and Americans will not be required to obtain visas before setting off for a holiday in Britain. Only those coming from Pakistan and the Commonwealth countries of India, Bangladesh, Ghana and Nigeria will have to get a visa before they leave home. Given the conditions in those countries faced by those seeking immigration papers to Britain, one can imagine the frustrations to be faced by those who simply want to visit.

This is not an immigration issue; it is one of tourism and the ability of civil servants to cope. But it will, understandably, be interpreted by many, including those bona fide visitors from the Indian sub-continent and West Africa, as one dominated by race. This country has long operated a no-visa tourism policy. Until now only those from Communist countries have automatically required visas. This week's expansion embraces only coloured tourists, and will be judged in that light.

Impact of the non-aligned

ANY organisation, large or small, founded on a negative proposition is likely to have difficulty in convincing sceptics that it has anything to contribute. This week, a quarter of a century after it was founded, the largest and loosest anti-association of them all, the Non-Aligned Movement, has been in business at its eighth triennial summit conference in the Zimbabwean capital of Harare, with 101 states represented. The NAM has had what the advertising industry would call an image problem almost from its foundation as a vague, anti-imperialist club. More recently the Movement came close to being hijacked by Fidel Castro, whose efforts to hitch the creaking Third World bandwagon to the red star of the Soviet Union polarised and almost split the NAM, but its credibility has meanwhile been saved by the Indian chairmanship under the Gandhis, mother and son, just ended. The seductive argument that communism was the natural ally of the member-countries because it was opposed to the western system which had colonised so many of them — my enemy's enemy is my friend — finally collapsed when the Russians marched into Afghanistan. This superpower own-goal is, however, offset by several American ones, most notably in the present context the administration's Southern Africa policy.

The NAM brings together two-thirds of humanity and is second only to the UN in its unwieldiness. The Movement has been able over the years to draw attention to the problems of poverty and continuing exploitation in the Third World, but has few concrete achievements to its credit. Some of its members, such as Cuba, are decidedly less non-aligned than others. A few, like Iran and Iraq, are actually at war, and many members are less violently if no less intractably at odds over ideology, territory or economic issues. What the 101 members most nearly have in common is that they are either poor or populated by people with skins other than white, or in the overwhelming majority of cases both; the UN minus the OECD, Nato, the Warsaw Pact, the European neutrals, Israel — and South Africa.

There will doubtless be much talk this week about the arms race, the Middle East, Central America and Third World poverty, none of which is likely to be materially affected by the conference. But Harare is only about 400 miles from South Africa, and the mainstream of the debate is likely to be devoted to apartheid, Pretoria's destabilisation of its neighbours and continued occupation of Namibia. The flow of hostile rhetoric from a capital which has already experienced South African attacks could conceivably tempt the gung-ho element in Pretoria to stage a demonstration of its strength as the regional superpower. The general security alert in Zimbabwe and the anti-aircraft guns at the conference hotel are not excessive precautions in the circumstances.

Zimbabwe's three years in the chair from this week could usefully enhance the world standing of the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, whose campaigning against Pretoria has not been muted by his country's uncomfortable proximity to South Africa. Apartheid is an issue on which every nation present is more likely to agree than any other. The draft Special Declaration on sanctions, which outbids the position of the Commonwealth (minus Britain), is therefore likely to go through, though, as so often with NAM resolutions, the bark is likely to be rather worse than the bite. But this conference has a rare opportunity to do something practical. The idea of providing the Frontline States of Southern Africa with aid, including even military support, to withstand the consequences of retaliation from Pretoria against sanctions was canvassed at the preparatory sessions last week. Mr Mugabe's chairmanship, his country's pivotal role in the African confrontation with apartheid, and the rare degree of unity on the issue present the NAM with a unique chance to show it is more than a talking-shop for the world's have-nots. The Movement could go a long way beyond verbal posturing towards solidarity by deed, economically, technically and at a modest cost per member. It would be surprising if the NAM misses this chance to underline its influence.

Le Monde ENGLISH SECTION

Did Mitterrand back Rainbow Warrior sinking?

By Edwy Plenel

DID François Mitterrand know? This was the unanswered question which continued to recur obsessively in summer 1985 through all instalments of the Greenpeace politico-detective mystery serial. Now Jacques Derogy and Jean-Marie Pontaut return to the question in a new book, "Enquête sur trois secrets d'Etat" (Robert Laffont, Paris; F89). And the writers go beyond the questions and doubts which for the past year have been fuelling a skilful computation of probability.

This is the answer they come up with: not only did President Mitterrand "decide to cover the Greenpeace operation in the second half of July", but he was "in fact kept informed", before the July 10 sinking of the Rainbow Warrior in Auckland harbour, of the operation organised by the DGSE against the environmentalist movement. Informed by whom? By Admiral Pierre Lacoste, head of French intelligence at the time. "There wasn't going to be any victims," say the books' authors, "and France was was never going to be implicated: that's what Admiral Lacoste told the President . . . No victims, no clues, no French involvement. That was enough for the President to give the go-ahead."

This is the two writers' conviction. A conviction because in this area there is, by definition, no proof, unless one of those involved spills the beans. "These conversations belong to the highest level of state secrets, to the most confidential area of the presidential office," the writers add.

The book states: "It is obvious to us that no one will ever know what precisely was said. Besides, this conversation never even took place. There is no trace of it. No record. The scandal has swept it all away, wiped it out."

A wall of silence marking the dividing line between the journalist's and the historian's work, the boundary between the event and the long term. Yet, the fact is Derogy and Pontaut are not making frivolous assertions. This excerpt is a high point in a searching, rigorous and comprehensive inquiry into the case. They grind no axes, but write soberly, dispassionately and with a wealth of detail about what they have found out and what they have logically deduced.

People unfamiliar with the freedoms of investigative journalism will undoubtedly accuse them of political bias, of working for obvious third parties who, now that the Carrefour du Développement scandal has fallen far short of its promise, would like to get at the President. A pointless charge against which the authors preemptively defend themselves by pointing out that "one of the writers was on friendly terms with four leftwing ministers." An accusation which Le Monde was not spared either when it revealed that the attack (on the Rainbow Warrior) was actually carried out by a third team of combat frogmen.

What does it matter, for nobody today dares to question the existence of this "missing link", whose disclosure pricked the balloon of official lies. Senior reporters at the weekly news magazine, L'Express, Derogy and Pontaut were the only ones to back up Le Monde's investigation on this point. Today, they go even further, revealing the identities of the two men who placed the mines — Capt. K, a DGSE section head, and his deputy, Staff-Sergeant C.

Their investigation is crammed with hitherto unknown details and has revived the entire affair by confirming and adding to what has already been carried in Le Monde — the panic among those responsible for the nuclear test centres (DIRCEN) and their insistence that something be done about the Greenpeace campaign; the DGSE's unwillingness to mount an operation so quickly; the way it backed down when the endorsement came from Defence Minister Charles Hernu, who was indeed the man who gave the final order; the zeal shown by the DGSE's action division which saw it as an opportunity for carrying out a real-life exercise; the scale of the human and material resources (a score of operatives) put into what was code-named "Operation Rainbow"; the rivalry inside the DGSE which was to result in some of its military men being accused (they have since been rehabilitated).

All in all, it was a very minutely organised affair which helps the writers to reach their conclusion about presidential responsibility. Despite the absence of proof, this appears to be consistent with all the known facts and which suddenly no longer seems to be a surprise. To understand it, one only has to connect the undisputable points: 1) Admiral Pierre Lacoste, head of the DGSE, is known as a disciplined military man unlikely to act on his own initiative, and was answerable only to General Jean Saulnier (now armed forces chief-of-staff, who was presidential chief-of-staff at the time) and the President personally; 2) none of the government members involved in the case any longer contests it today: Charles Hernu, then Defence Minister, lied several times, particularly at meetings called by the Prime Minister, Laurent Fabius, and Lacoste took his cues from his minister — in this sense, he was the one who took the rap, for he was dismissed; 3) Yet Hernu resigned with a very friendly letter from the President ("I want you to know I am deeply sorry, I am grateful to you and regret this.") It was a good conduct certificate which was denied to the Prime Minister in his determined efforts to unearth the truth.

The logical progression did not go unnoticed by military and foreign policy analysts. Early this year, for example, Samy Cohen, a researcher at the Foundation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, came to a very similar conclusion in a heavily documented work on the behind-the-scenes activity in foreign policy decisions under the Fifth Republic ("La Monarchie nucléaire", Hachette, Paris; F98). Criticising the "myth of the army's omnipotence" that would be presupposed if the President were innocent in this case, he wrote: "If in ultimately, François Mitterrand is protecting Jean Saulnier, is it not rather to protect himself, because he knows that implicating the general would in the end arouse suspicions about political responsibility?"

But there is no proof. And one could always suppose, in Mitterrand's defence, that Admiral Lacoste spoke to the President only about the ultimate goals of the venture without revealing the extent of the means committed to achieving them. The mystery will subsist all the more as the President took care never to appear in the front line when the affair reached its denouncement, apart from one major slip-up: on September 16, that is, the day before Le Monde disclosed the existencd of a third team of saboteurs, Mitterrand wrote to Prime Minister David Lange of New Zealand asking him not to accuse France in the attack. "It would be good thing," he wrote in the form of a formal demand, "if the accumulated grievances and unfounded accusations against France are settled." How could he not have known at the time? How not to conclude that he too was doing some covering up?

From his own point of view, the President's calculation was not bad. For, at the end of the day, the case took only one victim — the Prime Minister, the man who incautiously proclaimed his attachment to the truth, a truth which, according to Derogy and Pontaut, was kept away from him. Oddly enough the public saw Laurent Fabius rather as someone who betrayed the team spirit and "destroyed" a fellow minister whose popularity continued to rise after his resignation, a minister who could have "cohabited" with a rightwing government. Having lied for the good of the military, Hernu became a victim in an astonishing backlash which demonstrates the limits of information.

And we at once fail to see why the President should be more harmed by Derogy's and Pontaut's assertions today, unless they are politically exploited by the ruling Majority. In this case, he has stuck firmly to his own idea of what serving the state means, which does not rule out occasionally having recourse to the more questionable reasons bearing this tag. What is interesting about Derogy's and Pontaut's book, which also deals with the misdventures of Christian Prouteau's nucleus of "super-gendarmes" at the Elysée and the confused situation of the French hostages in Lebanon, is that it raises questions about the ruling left's conversion to these reasons of state that it had been so critical of before. In Mitterrand's presidential office hangs a portrait of Clemenceau, the man who whose "naural tendency," assured Léon Blum in his "Souvenirs sur l'affaire". Dreyfus, was to be the apologist of reasons of state."

(August 30)

Former president Valéry Giscard-d'Estaing has thrown his hat in the ring. Addressing a gathering of the Mouvement des Jeunes Giscardiens (his own youth movement) at Chamonix on Wednesday, August 27, Giscard d'Estaing quite unequivocally came out as Jacques Chirac's challenger an the 1988 presidential election race. Just the day before, Jacques Toubon, secretary-general of Chirac's Rassemblement Pour la République (RPR), made an urgent plea for unity in Chirac's home constituency of Corrèze, where the RPR's youth movement hailed the prime minister with shouts of "Chirac President".

Giscard returns to the fray

By Jean-Yves Lhomeau

IS THE ruling majority in danger? Judging by what Toubon says, we have to believe it is. The RPR secretary-general said some alarming things in Corrèze the other day when he addressed a meeting of his party's youth movement.

The RPR, he said, will have to meet the "challenge". The challenge of unemployment? No, for the present ruling majority is quite familiar with that sort of exercise from its long experience of running things in France. Power-sharing, perhaps? Even less so. The Prime Minister and the President are reasonable adults and they just do not go in for trifling with France's institutions.

The big "challenge" was the "union of the majority", which guarantees the existence of the government, its duration and hence its success, and on which it will be judged by the French at the next presidential election.

So here is the second power-sharing arrangement which regulates relations between the Union pour la Démocratie Française — Giscard d'Estaing's group — and Chiras's RPR in the process of overshadowing the first.

Although Toubon's remarks were promptly smothered by Chirac, who declared the majority "couldn't be in better shape" and that its behaviour "presents no problems", and Toubon himself tried to soften their impact, they deserve to be examined.

They were made just when the various parties making up the ruling coalition — Centrists, Rightwing Radicals, Giscardians, activists of the Parti Républicain and RPR — are holding their usual summer "universities". Every activist, every party leader of some standing is tempted to assert his uniqueness. The Liberals become liberal, the Centrists go socialist, the Giscardians stir up the past and the RPR tends to exert its powerful domination over the others. But after all, this is par for the course as political business picks up momentum following the summer recess, and competitive diversity is not incompatible with unity.

So what does Toubon fear, what is behind his simulated show of fear when the parliamentary majority itself seems to be proof against the least fissile tendency? Some commotion was expected when the budget came under discussion. But (former prime minister) Raymond Barre and his allies, who still have not had either the time nor the strength to lift their heads, say the government's budget plans are fine with them and that in any case there is no question of preventing Chirac from governing.

The redrawing of constituency boundaries is not an earth-shattering business either. If President Mitterrand refuses to sign the decree establishing the new constituency delimitation, not only will the majority leaders not make a big issue of it, but they could contemplate the possibility of obtaining a redistribution, through ordinary parliamentary channels, even more favourable to themselves than the current one, provided of course the Conseil Constitutionnel passes it. Chirac furthermore has the means for forcing recalcitrants to support him. Who then in the majority would join the Socialists in voting against the government?

So the reasons for the concern expressed so dramatically by Toubon have to be sought elsewhere. The RPR secretary-general gives an inkling of them when he says it is a mistake to imagine that a presidential candidate of the right would carry the day by campaigning "on the ruins of the government." Now any rightwing candidate coming forward as a serious rival to Chirac will exist only if he is opposed to him.

Who is Toubon thinking of? Of Raymond Barre, of course, who has put all his money on the power-sharing experiment collapsing and its repercussions affecting the government's work. For the moment Barre is still far from able to prove whether this theory is correct.

Of Valery Giscard d'Estaing, certainly. Behind the soft purring of his speeches about union and



Giscard d'Estaing: challenge

national "reconciliation", the former president no longer hides his renewed interest in the Elysée. Initially he unsuccessfully tried to egg Chirac on by rubbing in the latter's dereliction of his election promises. Today he is trying to throw a roadblock across the royal route chosen by Chirac that will take him to the 1988 presidential election.

The struggle is fierce in the UDF where Giscard d'Estaing, despite the misadventures along his way, does really have a free hand. By including all the leaders of the parties making up the UDF in his government, Chirac has carefully muzzled them. Barre — that was inevitable — and Giscard d'Estaing are free to speak. Both men can can find backing in the resentment provoked by the pre-March 16 alliance between Chirac and François Léotard which favoured "Leo's crowd of liberals".

Despite the post he occupies, Chirac is still not seen as the bearer if a single project, a sort of synthesis between all the currents of the majority. He has generated or stirred up presidential ambitions thereby lengthening the list of natural potential candidates. Toubon may well not give a fig for the divisions among his allies (the "Young Giscardians" held their summer university while the "old Giscardians" held their colloquium), but it will be necessary — whence the dread — to glue the pieces back together before 1988.

(August 28)

Nakasone and the 'white whale'

By Philippe Pons

TOKYO — Since his Liberal Democratic Party's sweeping win at the July 6 general election, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone has been exhibiting the greatest composure. He is now certain that when he ends his term of office as president of the LDP at the end of October, he will at least been given a limited extension. So he is hopeful of being able to run for a third prime ministerial term. But this is still a strictly hypothetical question, for another mandate would require amending the LDP's internal rules.

At any rate, as he did not want to cause any untoward agitation, Nakasone refrained from going on August 15, the anniversary of Japan's surrender, to the Yasukuni shrine housing the ashes of the soldiers of the imperial army as well as war criminals. Last year, his visit to Yasukuni brought sharp protests from China and South Korea. While this was so, the prime minister's most noteworthy initiative this summer was to urge his ministers to take a holiday. He himself set the example by going away until the end of the month.

But politicians, less confident about the future than Nakasone, are nevertheless bustling about in Japan's drowsy summer humidity preparing for the reopening of parliament. The members of the New Liberal Club, a minor group that broke away from the LDP, have for instance decided to go back to the fold after ten years of standing up to a majority which they considered to be guilty of such moral turpitude as corrupt practices and monopolistic excesses in government. And this comes precisely at a time when the LDP's supremacy is being reinforced while governmental practices have not really changed.

The Socialists, who were the big losers in the July 6 elections (they are the biggest Opposition party and they lost 24 seats), are engaged in a damage limitation exercise. At the end of September they will elect another president to replace Masashi Ishibashi, who announced his resignation, thereby taking responsibility for the election trouncing. There is a possibility he may be succeeded by a woman, Takako Doi, 57, the party's current vice-president. In a country like Japan, where women are seldom called on to play leading roles, the Socialists' initiative does not lack originality. But it remains to be seen whether the "formula" inaugurated by British Tories with Margaret Thatcher will produce the same effect on an ageing party bedevilled by internal squabbles and political currents that seesaw between the Marxism-Leninism of its more dogmatic members and the social-democratic ideas of the pragmatists.

In February this year, belatedly realising that its old fogey image was dooming the Socialist Party to inaction and the erosion of its electoral as well as its labour union bases, the party management endeavoured painfully to provide itself with a new "social-democratic" platform. On July 6, voters showed they did not seem to be convinced by such weak reformist inclinations and the party suffered its most swingeing defeat since 1969.

More than the conservatives' victory, it is the Socialist Party's setback that will go down as the historic fact of these elections. Not only is this the biggest Opposition group, but for a whole generation (the post-war generation) it has crystallised the hopes of change. This was especially true in the '60s when the Socialists had 30 per cent of the voters behind them.

While the Japanese Socialist Party is licking its wounds and getting ready to face local elections next year, Liberal Democrats are gearing up for their customary internal struggles for power, for even if the deadline for Nakasone's succession has been postponed and remains uncertain, the issue is still very much on the agenda.

In mid-July the prime minister formed a cabinet made up largely of men from his own clan and Kakuei Tanaka's, a cabinet which he holds firmly in hand. Since suffering a brain haemorrhage that has left him bedridden, Tanaka is of course out of the running, but his faction nonetheless remains the most powerful in the LDP.

Nakasone has, for example, appointed Tadashi Kuranari as foreign minister. Kuranari has practically no diplomatic experience, which suggests that the prime minister intends to personally control Japanese foreign policy. Trade surpluses with the United States and the prospect of improved relations with the USSR which should take practical shape with the coming reciprocal visits by Mikhail Gorbachev and Nakasone are the two main foreign policy issues of the coming months.

The education portfolio has been given to Masayuki Fujio, an ultranationalist, who has already brought irritated reactions from Peking and Seoul with his misplaced, but also calculated, assertions that Japan had no responsibility in the last war. Fujio is just the man to push through the policy of moralising the Japanese education system which Nakasone believes is "too easy-going" where discipline is concerned.

Nakasone may well hold all the reigns of his government, but the same cannot be said where his party is concerned. He has doubtless neutralised one of his biggest opponents, Kiichi Miyazawa, by giving him the finance portfolio. But his leading rivals, former foreign minister Shintaro Abe and formed finance minister Noboru Takeshita have taken control of the LDP; Abe by becoming chairman of the party's executive committee and Takeshita by becoming its secretary-general. Now the fact remains, it is the party that "makes" prime ministers.

So it's settled: Nakasone remains president of the LDP. But for how long? Nothing has yet been decided. Sources close to the prime minister say Nakasone should be given time to complete the long-term project he has got down to and which he plans to make the master work of his prime ministerial tenure — administrative reform. This is an elusive project which has been talked about for the last ten years: its most original feature is a policy of privatisation, beginning with the telephone company and extending to the nationally owned railways, which is one of the big questions up for debate at the next parliamentary session. Giving Nakasone time to carry out this ambitious programme amounts to giving him a fresh term of office.

Abe and Takeshita will have none of that. True, both men need to consolidate their power within the ruling majority. Abe has formally taken over Takeo Fukuda's clan: the latter handed it over to him just after the elections saying it was necessary "to make way for the rising generations" — a back-handed swipe at Nakasone. As for Takeshita, he has taken control of the powerful Tanaka faction. The two men are expected to coordinate their strategies this month so as to decide, among other things, for how long Nakasone's mandate should be extended. Only in the rather unlikely event of the LDP's two new strongmen reaching agreement could the majority party's charter be amended so as to allow Nakasone to run for a third term. Such an amendment in fact requires clearance by two-thirds of the party membership.

With the setbacks suffered by the Opposition and the new supremacy acquired by the LDP, Japanese politics is less than ever likely to undergo change. It continues to be dominated by power shifts within the ruling majority.

The composition of governments and the question whether a prime minister should or should not be maintained in office are less a reflection of political operations than the state of the power balance among the factions inside this "white whale" — the Liberal Democratic Party that has been ruling Japan since 1955.

(August 23)

PANCHO

Drawing by Pancho for Le Monde

French firms prepare to cash in on prison building programme

By Bertrand Le Gendre

FRENCH FIRMS will soon be taking part in an F8 billion venture to build prisons with a total capacity of 20,000 cells. The prisons will have to be constructed very soon. Justice Minister Albin Chalandon has decided to turn over the construction of the prisons to the private sector. This is his answer to a question in the form of a legal teaser: can the state relinquish one of its major prerogatives — the right to punish — to others?

While Chalandon has no doubt at all of the answer to the question, some officials at the justice department, like Arsène Lux, the head of the penitentiary administration, take a more cautious line. True, they do feel prisons need to be privatised, but they fear a possible veto by the Conseil Constitutionnel. How would it react? The feeling at the justice department is that there is no clear-cut answer to the question because there is no precedent.

The question has been turned over and examined from every angle and the conclusion reached is that the Conseil Constitutionnel could just as well endorse the project as object to it by invoking, for example, the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. That declaration states that the public force cannot be made to work "for the private use of those to whom it is entrusted". In other words, the power of coercion exercised by prison warders cannot be invested in private persons and especially not so they may capitalise on it.

To be absolutely sure of what it is doing, the prison administration has redoubled its precautions which have just recently been included in a preliminary draft bill whose final version could be submitted to Parliament between now and the end of the year. The draft stipulates that prison guards will not have the right to go on strike. "The continuity of public service in prisons," notes the draft "should be ensured at all times, especially when there is an interruption which is likely to upset the regular and normal functioning of justice, breach public safety or disturb the living conditions of imprisoned persons."

Another precaution devised by the prisons administration is to reserve the use of firearms for "agents specially qualified for this purpose." Private prison warders will have to be "passed by the administration" which will screen their backgrounds and characters. Finally, those guards will have to meet "the conditions of fitness required for public officers in services outside the prisons administration." This means, explains a note added to the preliminary draft bill, that they will receive "a training equivalent" to the one given state-employed guards.

Equivalent, but not identical. This contradicts the statement made by Chalandon on July 24: on that occasion, the minister said that "private firms will be required to hire personnel" having received the same training as their counterparts in public service, training "provided by the Ecole National du Personnel Pénitentiaire" at Fresnes.

This is of course only a preliminary draft and other versions of it will doubtless emerge. So it must not be expected to adhere faithfully to the Justice Minister's thinking. In particular, it does not specify the conditions in which the state will exercise its guardianship over these new-style penal institutions. If private guards are allowed to punish unruly prison inmates or take care of formalities involved in registration and receiving prisoners, which are regulated by the code of penal procedure, that would be equivalent to depriving the public authorities of their prerogatives.

If Chalandon is to head off a reprimand from the Conseil Constitutionnel, he will doubtless have to opt for a solution he has already broached, which is to appoint a government representative to each (private) prison, who would be a sort of "penitentiary commissioner" responsible for exercising, as least in form, the public authorities of their prerogatives.

These precautions do not alter the fact that union officials feel the state is getting ready to abdicate its power. Jean-Pierre Martinez, secretary-general of the Syndicat National des Personnels de Direction (a union affiliated to Force Ouvrière), summed up his opposition to the idea in these words: "What is a decision of justice whose execution the state cannot ensure and which it must transfer (to another)?" Jacques Vialettes, secretary-general of the Syndicat National des Personnels de Surveillance (also affiliated to FO) spoke of "mistrust" of public employees, of "unfair competition" and promised the public would hear about his union in September.

Union officials, magistrates and some Justice Department employees are all the more taken aback as the move is a complete turnaround. Throughout the legislative election campaign Jacques Toubon kept repeating that the prisons would be given budgetary priority. There was no question at the time of hiring hundreds of private prison warders.

Necessity knows no law. As Robert Badinter (the former justice minister) had to concede, Chalandon quickly noted that the population in French gaols was not about to decrease. He also realised that the French balk at paying up for building an indefinite number of new gaols. So he has firmly plunged into the privatisation venture. If it has so far touched off no criticism from the left, it is because the Opposition has no alternative solution to offer.

Pending the parliamentary debate and the drafting in the very near future of a schedule of conditions, the big construction firms are preparing to act. This is true of the Maisons Familiales group, whose president Robert Leroy has set up a think-tank and working group headed by Bernard Scemama, a former sub-prefect who is thoroughly familiar with the administration and its ins and outs, and Gérard Nortier, a graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique (a prestigious engineering establishment).

The market is a promising one for such big firms, but at the same time it presents quite novel problems. They will have not only to build the prisons, but also to run them, which is another kettle of fish. They are consequently trying to obtain advice from certain prison administration executives as a first step towards employment proposals which, according to one executive approached by a big firm, promise to be "interesting".

Studies made in recent weeks would appear to suggest that the operation will be viable only if savings are made in the numbers and salaries of staff — an item which accounts for 70 per cent of the operating costs in prisons. Indeed, it seems improbable that constructing the buildings and renting them out to the state would permit the concessionaire firms to make sufficient profits. Exemption from taxes is therefore contemplated for such firms, but nothing has been decided.

Justice Department officials have been busy throughout August examining projects, carrying out studies, holding meetings and making trips to the United States where private prisons were "invented". Chalandon wants to move fast. If the ideal schedule is respected, France could have its first private prisons in two years time, forecasts the director of the prison administration.

(August 27)

Rosi brings Marquez's vision to the screen

By Michel Braudeau

In the torrid heat of Cartagena in Colombia, the Italian director Francesco Rosi (right) has been shooting a screen version of Gabriel Garcia Marquez's novel, "Chronicle of a Doomed Man". The film stars Ornella Muti, Rupert Everett, Anthony Delon (son of Alain), and Irene Papas.



Francesco Rosi

The Vicario brothers beg forgiveness from the father of the village.

A GLOWERING Irene Papas, dressed in black, struts down the rickety steps of the bullring in the Plaza de Toros and barks: "Where are you off to?" Darting under the tiers of seats, she seizes Ornella Muti, whose hair cascades down her clinging green dress to her buttocks. "What's the matter with you?" Papas asks.

La Muti turns round furiously: "I don't love him, I don't want to marry him. One can't take such an important step without being in love." Papas, looking daggers, grabs her by the arm and cuts her short: "Being in love, too, is something that has to be learnt."

"Perfect!" says Francesco Rosi. "Let's have another one." One take with rain, one without rain; two ruined by incidents that had not been bargained for — noise in a neighbouring street, and three scrawny chickens walking into frame. A true professional, Papas keeps control of her emotions and manages to become tragic with each new take.

In the shade behind the ice-boxes full of mineral water, a drowsy horse has an erection. The extras immediately tiptoe closer to enjoy the event, while Rosi takes a final close-up of Muti saying: "I don't love him." When it is over, she flops into her canvas armchair. It is 33°C in the shade and extremely humid.

Sixty-four-year-old Rosi, who has been shooting his film version of Marquez's "Chronicle of a Doomed Man" since May, has already had to work in a much hotter part of Colombia. Early on in the production schedule, when the film-makers were in Mompox, a beautiful town built by the conquistadores alongside a river in the middle of the forest, the temperature often rose to almost 40°C.

"When the British were shooting 'The Mission' near here," says Rosi, "Mompox was too hot for them. But we managed to cope. We installed hot water and sanitation. There were only 26 rooms, which were quite uninhabitable anyway, in a broken-down old hotel, for a team of 100 actors and technicians. We did the hotel up, found accommodation with local inhabitants, and brought in a French chef from Bogota to do the catering."

The Italians also flew in their spaghetti from Rome, as well as some coffee-making machines: "Colombia grows the best coffee in the world, but *we* know best how to make it."

Behind the camera was an old colleague of Rosi's, Pasqualino De Santis, Italy's most celebrated cinematographer — and something of a diva. A small, discreet, laconic man, De Santis occupied the hotel's presidential suite and, in addition to a reportedly princely salary, enjoyed every privilege from sunshades to the morning's first espresso.

It was in the course of sipping the latter that he would scrutinise the negatives of the previous day's tests. Once the maestro's nervous system had been well irrigated, he rose slowly from his folding chair, looked into the viewfinder, and gave (or did not give) his blessing: the day's work could then begin.

Rosi, whose best-known films include "Salvatore Giuliano", "Le Mani sulla Cittá", "Il Caso Mattei", "Cadaveri Eccelenti" and "Carmen", has not chosen an easy option for his 14th feature. Marquez's novel, although not very long, is formidably complex.

A handsome stranger called Bayardo San Roman (Rupert Everett) turns up in an unnamed riverside village in Colombia and becomes everyone's favourite. Nothing is known of the man, who is slim, well-dressed and standoffish, except that he is looking for a wife and sets his heart on an unknown woman he sees in the street, Angela Vicario (Ornella Muti).

On their wedding night, Angela is "returned" to her parents by Bayardo because, it appears, she is not a virgin. Pressed by her mother (Irene Papas) and her brothers, the twins Pedro and Pablo, to denounce the man who first seduced her, Angela names a young neighbour and friend of the family, Santiago Nasar (Anthony Delon).

The twin brothers sharpen their butcher's knives, and within hours the whole village realises what they are planning. "Never was a death more clearly heralded," writes Marquez. Only Santiago Nasar seems unaware of what is in store for him: he strolls along with all the insouciance of an innocent man when he is fallen upon by his murderers and dies from 28 stab wounds.

Once Bayardo's honour has been avenged in this way, Angela withdraws from the world and realises that in fact she loves him. She writes him passionate letters — for 17 years. Finally, Bayardo returns to live with her, bringing with him a suitcase containing her 2,000 letters. None of them has been opened.

This is powerful, violent stuff, and many a film director has dreamt of adapting the novel for the screen (Robert Altman, after learning that Rosi had successfully set up the project, sent him a congratulatory telegram saying how jealous he was).

"Marquez's novel," says Rosi, "is structurally very similar to several of my films. The same oscillation between memory and the present can be found in 'Salvatore Giuliano' and 'Il Caso Mattei'. It also gave me a chance to say more about a subject that has long fascinated me — death and love. Tragedy befalls a group of men, all of them young, good-looking and friends with each other, and the innocence of youth is destroyed by the lack of innocence of adults, who obey a completely different moral code.

"Marquez's story provided me with an excuse for describing a trivial event, but also for transcending reality a little. The dimension I move in is the same as Sciascia's and, today, Marquez's — it's a metaphysical dimension. Marquez describes a village, talks of a river and, all of a sudden, the sea. I like that kind of dilation of reality.

"I've made many films based on real or historical events, and one or two on literary works. While I remain very faithful to the spirit of such works, it's obvious that at my age films also give me a chance to talk about myself."

Anthony Delon's father, Alain, was apparently approached to play the part of Bayardo, but could not afford to work on a film with such a long shooting schedule. In any case, it is far from certain that his son would have agreed (they are not on the best of terms). Anthony Delon seems ideally suited to play Santiago Nasar, for he has the right youthful vulnerability. As he says himself: "I'm like him — still innocent."

According to Rosi, Ornella Muti has the same ambiguity of character as Angela: "She doesn't have the face of truth: she has the tenderness of a young girl and the mystery and impenetrability of a mature woman." Ornella herself will do no more than remark that it is a difficult part: "Very literary. This is a turning point for me."

Rupert Everett, whose third major film this is (after "Another Country" and "Dance with a Stranger"), is already a star — and behaves like one. A tall man with an aquiline nose, haughty look and sagging mouth, he rented the finest house in the old town and flew in his secretary and his mummy, a starchy and very English lady in a red hat who resembles him to a T.

His make-up man, who is a good 30 centimetres shorter than him, has to stand on tip-toe to powder his august nose and spray his shirt with mineral water: Rupert Everett must be the only man south of the Tropic of Cancer who has never been known to perspire.

Another set-up: Muti appears at the balcony of a white house in Santa Teresa Street carrying two birdcages. She notices Everett in the street, who in turn looks at her. There is a meaningful exchange of glances. She hangs up the cages on the wall and goes inside. Everett turns away and nods his head as if to say: "That girl will be my wife."

During the sixth take, the canaries began to flap frantically around the cages. They had been manhandled for at least an hour, and the poor little things were beginning to feel a little jumpy — as indeed everyone did at one time or another during the very difficult shooting of the film.

Preparation for the movie took place, off and on, over a period of two years, with constant problems on the financial side. After Gaumont Italy went under, the project went into limbo before

Continued on page 14

Holocaust memories still haunt church and state in Yugoslavia

BELGRADE — The case of the former Catholic Archbishop of Zagreb, Alojzije Stepinac, is once again in the news, as it has been from time to time over the last 40 years. In 1946 the archbishop was given a 16-year prison sentence for "collaboration" with the occupying power. In 1951 he was released but ordered to remain in Krasic, the town of his birth, where he was elevated to cardinal by Pope Pius XII in 1956.

In the aftermath of the court's decision, the Vatican broke off diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia in 1953 (they were re-established only in 1970). This resulted in considerable tension between the Catholic church and the state which has still not entirely abated.

The whole issue resurfaced recently with the publication of numerous books on the subject. They have been selling like hot cakes. Most of them virulently attack the former archbishop for his support of the Ustachi movement, the "independent Croatian state", and the bloody attempt by that puppet state to convert Orthodox Serbs to Catholicism on a vast scale.

The recent publications also include strong criticism of Pope Pius XII for his policy of "complicity" with one of the most barbaric regimes of the Hitlerian period. One such book, the 1,100-page "Magnum Crimen" by Professor Viktor Novak, had already appeared in 1948, but in a very limited edition. It consequently escaped the notice of reviewers and the public at large.

Following repeated attempts recently by certain members of the Catholic clergy to get Stepinac's name cleared (the government will have none of it) and even to obtain his canonisation, the Belgrade publishers Nova Knjiga brought out a new edition of Novak's book, which was immediately snapped up.

It is very hard for a non-Yugoslav to understand what happened in Yugoslavia after the Axis powers occupied and dismembered it in 1941. The resistance in Yugoslavia, which is a multiconfessional country, often took the form of a horrible religious war in which Stepinac and some other members of the Catholic clergy were involved.

As early as April 12, 1941, at a time when the kingdom of Yugoslavia had not yet surrendered, the archbishop of Zagreb had already made contact with the Ustachi leaders. And by April 16 he had met Ante Pavelic, leader of the independent Croatian state, who had just returned from Italy.

In his first message to Catholics on April 28, Mgr Stepinac hailed the birth of that state as the fulfilment "of a long-cherished wish" and as "a work of God which arouses our admiration".

He had not a single word of criticism for either the racial legislation immediately introduced by Pavelic, the concentration camps, the outlawing of the Serbs, the banning of their Orthodox church or the massacre of its bishops and almost 200 of its priests.

When fanatics, still in April 1941, tried to lynch the Orthodox cleric, Metropolitan Dositej, in Zagreb itself (he was imprisoned and tortured by the Germans and subsequently died insane), Mgr Stepinac did not see fit to raise his voice in protest.

In his eyes, all Orthodox priests were "schismatics", and he blamed them, along with the Communists and the freemasons, for the Roman Catholic Church's trials and tribulations in Croatia.

When the Ustachi arrested Metropolitan Petar of Sarajevo, and caused him the most appalling suffering before putting him to death, the Catholic Archbishop of Bosnia, Ivan Saric, in the company of Ustachi leaders and a group of Nazi officials, reviewed a march-past of German troops — and gave them the Hitlerian salute.

His enthusiasm for the independent Croatian state was such that he wrote an "ode" to Pavelic, in which he revealed that he had already secretly met him before the war in St Peter's in Rome, and paid a stirring tribute to his "patriotism" and "Catholic faith" (Saric vanished before the liberation of Sarajevo, and it is not known when or where he died.

Mgr Stepinac and his colleagues did nothing either to save the Orthodox Bishop Sava of Karlovac

By Paul Yankovitch

or Bishop Platon of Banja-Luka, who were kidnapped by the Ustachi and never seen again.

In Slavonia, a region of wooded hills and fertile plains, the Catholic church organised an energetic campaign to convert the traditionally peace-loving local population. Accompanied by heavily armed Ustachi soldiers, "missionaries" summoned the inhabitants of Serbian villages and told them that if they wished to remain in Croatia they would have to become Croatians and espouse the Catholic faith. Those who refused were immediately deported to concentration camps and dispossessed, or else executed on the spot.

In the autumn of 1941, when the conversion campaign had already resulted in terrible massacres which caused even some Germans and Italians to protest, Mgr Stepinac called an assembly of bishops. The assembly declared that the profession of faith could take place only with the consent of the persons involved, and set up a commission of three bishops to ensure that its views were respected.

But strong-arm methods continued to be used to convert the Serbs, and the commission, as Mgr Stepinac admitted at his trial, met only once and never chastised any of the clergy involved in such practices.

It turned a blind eye, for example, to the doings of Father Bujanovic, who used to address the Serbs in the following terms: "Up to now, we have fought with the cross and the Bible; henceforth our weapons will be the dagger and the revolver." One of his colleagues, Father Sidonia, told his prospective converts that if they refused to become Catholics they would end up in the Jasenovac concentration camp.

The propagators of "the true Christian faith" also included a Franciscan monk, Father Majstorovic-Filipovic. The mind boggles at the testimony of those who escaped his persecution. Leader of a detachment of Ustachi, he personally took part in the massacre of 57 Serbs in a coal mine near Banja-Luka, and of 1,500 others, including women and children, in the village of Drakulici and the surrounding area.

Pavelic held Majstorovic-Filipovic in high regard and gave him a position of authority for a time at the Jasenovac camp.

There were exceptions, though, among the clergy. Bishop Misic of Mostar, the city where many great Serbian poets and intellectuals were born, wrote to Mgr Stepinac that "one day we shall regret what has been happening". Several members of the Catholic clergy, including Mgr Ritig, the abbot of St Mark's, Zagreb's most respected church, joined the partisan movement and repeatedly attacked the Ustachi movement for being an "Antichrist".

At the beginning of 1942, the independent Croatian state was shaken by a general uprising of the Serbs, who were joined by many Croats. Pavelic attempted to stop it spreading by founding a "Croatian Orthodox Church". He unearthed a Russian émigré cleric, Pope Germogen, who had taken refuge in Yugoslavia after the Russian revolution, and appointed him metropolitan.

Germogen learned to live with the Ustachi regime. He was unconcerned by the wave of conversions, which by the end of the war numbered between 250,000 and 300,000. After 1945, all the converted returned to the fold of the Orthodox church.

The Catholic press in Yugoslavia has not yet reacted to the accusations contained in the recent books. Catholic milieux regard the charges as "unscientific" and flawed by "inaccuracies that are not even worth denying".

The Orthodox church has also kept silent on the issue. As one of its prelates told me: "We do not intend to use our dossier on the case for the purposes of revenge. It is not destined for the courts of this world, but for Him who knows exactly what happened and knows all the victims and all the culprits."

Patriarch Gavrilo, who was arrested by the Germans in 1941, tortured in the prisons of Sarajevo, and confined to occupied Serbia during the war before being transferred to Dachau at the beginning of 1945, was the first man to express the official Orthodox view about what had happened.

His memoirs, which were published in Paris in 1974 (in both the Roman and Cyrillic alphabets), were banned in Yugoslavia. In them, he described the time he spent in Western countries after being freed by the Americans and before returning to Yugoslavia.

In December 1945, he happened to be staying in Rome when Miho Krek, leader of the Slovenian Catholic Party, who had remained in exile, approached him on behalf of the Vatican and suggested a meeting with the Pope.

The patriarch categorically refused to see Pope Pius XII and bitterly criticised him "for not having condemned the conversion of Orthodox Christians in Croatia and for not having defended the Serbs when they were threatened with extermination".

On the other hand, the patriarch did warmly thank Cardinal Eugène Tisserand, who, as far as can be established, was the only prelate in Pius XII's immediate entourage to intervene in favour of the Serbs, with whom he had fought on the Salonica front during the First World War.

It was only in 1984 that another Orthodox prelate, the current Patriarch German, referred to the issue when consecrating the new church in the village of Jasenovac.

He briefly alluded to that painful chapter in Yugoslav history as follows: "We must forgive, but we cannot forget what happened. May Jasenovac serve as a warning which will remind us that concord should be the law of the communal life of Serbs and Croats in the common fatherland where we all have our place."

(August 3-4)

Bonn takes action to curb influx of refugees

By Henri de Bresson

CHANCELLOR Kohl of West Germany announced on Wednesday, August 27 a new series of measures aimed at slowing down the flow of refugees coming into the Federal Republic. The measures will in particular affect Iranians fleeing the Khomeini regime via Turkey; who make up the bulk of the newcomers.

Anyone seeking asylum who has spent three months in a transit country where there are no problems of personal safety will in fact now be immediately sent out of West Germany.

While the right wing of the ruling Christian Democrat Union-Christian Social Union coalition had to abandon its attempts to have the constitution's provisions on the right of asylum amended (this would have required an unobtainable two-thirds majority in the Bundestag), the government has, on the other hand also tried to make residency conditions tougher. Refugees who are tolerated in the FRG but have no official status will not be entitled to a work permit for a period of five years, as opposed to two years now.

This has, however, been reduced to one year for refugees from East European countries, basically Poles. Moreover other instructions will be given to strengthen the staff at the Central Refugee Office which does the initial screening of requests for asylum. German consulates abroad will be instructed to tighten up conditions for granting tourist visas; and stiffer penalties will be imposed on airlines bringing in passengers without the appropriate documents.

Since 1985, when the number of refugees entering West Germany doubled compared with the figure for the previous year, the FRG has had to cope with a substantial influx coming for the most part from the Middle East, the Indian sub-continent and Ghana.

The number of persons whose status as political refugees is recognised represents about 16 per cent of the total arrivals, including refugees from East Europe. A refugee will now have to be able to furnish proof that he or she has been personally persecuted in the country of origin, something which is not always easy to do. While they appear to to be less than generous, German courts do admit however that asylum-seekers whose status has not been recognised can remain in the FRG if they come from communist countries or countries in the grip of crises. This is in particular true for Iranians, Afghans and Sri Lankan Tamils.

Altogether 35 per cent of these refugees, who have come apparently for economic reasons, are nevertheless expelled. The others are housed by immigration services in the Länder where the provisions for receiving refugees vary before they can go back to their countries or settle down once they have been given a work permit. They are paid a social allowance of DM500 a month.

Increasing the length of time necessary for obtaining a work permit could have disastrous consequences. The longer the period of inactivity is stretched out, the more likely it is for problems to arise with the communities where the refugees are housed or for some refugees to be tempted by illegality. These measures have however been favourably received by the Opposition Social Democratic Party (SPD).

Although the SPD is opposed to amending the constitution, it recently agreed to discuss the problem with the government at a meeting on September 25. In a draft motion submitted at its current Nüremberg the SPD management conceded that the Third World's economic problems "cannot be solved by refugees being taken in by the FRG and other Western industrialised countries."

(August 26, 29)

Rosi films Marquez

Continued from page 13

being taken over by Yves Gasser and Francis Von Büren, who put together an Italian-French-Colombian coproduction.

After writing the screenplay in collaboration with Tonino Guerra, Rosi went to Colombia to choose locations. He decided to shoot in Cartagena and Mompox, despite the latter town's torrid climate and inaccessibility.

It has been an expensive film: Marquez is getting very highly paid for the rights; there is a big cast and a large number of sets; and various insurance policies have had to be taken out because Colombia is a relatively violent and dangerous country — the leading actors have bodyguards carrying submachine-guns whose job is to prevent kidnappings and ransom demands. As a result, the planned budget is over 60 million francs (about £6 million).

In addition, the hand of God intervened untowardly: the head make-up man suffered a fatal heart attack in Mompox, and the Pope came to celebrate mass at a spot which Rosi had reserved two months previously — and which he therefore had to vacate in a hurry.

Because the main square in Mompox (where the murder of Santiago Nasar is supposed to take place) was too small to allow the camera to move about with ease, Andrea Crisanti, the man responsible for designing the movie's 50 interior and exterior sets as well as the paddle-steamer Atlantico, found a suitable location in Pasacaballos, some 30 kilometres from Cartagena.

"When the Pope came, we had to clear out. He cost us a lot of money, roughly 500 million lire (about £240,000). But we achieved miracles at Pasacaballos."

At Pasacaballos, on a large site levelled by bulldozers at the end of a bumpy road, a huge set reproducing the square of Mompox was erected. One hundred and forty builders worked for five months to construct an area measuring 80 metres by 65 metres and containing copies of the church, the café, and houses — all of them mere façades held up by beams and scaffolding. Over 1.5 million francs (about 150,000 pounds sterling) were spent on the set, which was used for just 12 days' shooting.

The Washington Post

Gadhafi Taunts America Again

TRIPOLI — Col. Gadhafi, forceful and defiant, delivered a three-hour speech in Tripoli's Green Square, on Sunday, talking past midnight as he vowed to lead an international army to fight the United States and urged the Soviets to defend Libya and the Arabs.

The Libyan leader, dressed in [illegible] fatigues and a corduroy vest, addressed about 5,000 cheering and chanting Libyans, many of whom had come on horseback to greet him. A colorful celebration with folk dancing preceded the speech, which began on the eve of the 17th anniversary of the Sept. 1 revolution that brought Gadhafi to power.

Referring to recent U.S. naval and air moves interpreted here as a threat to repeat a bombing raid here last April, Gadhafi declared: "If President Ronald Reagan does not put an end to his stupidity and stop endangering international peace, I will form a force of 1,000 Libyans and lead them to America to destroy the neo-Nazi empire." He said he would create an international army from sympathizers in Asia, Africa and Latin America that would fight America anywhere.

Next month, he added, "we shall collect 8 million rifles to arm the Libyan people. The U.S.S.R. has been a friend to us and has lived up to its responsibilities." A Soviet delegation, led by the first vice president of the legislative Supreme Soviet, Pyotr Demichev, was prominently seated nearby and Gadhafi nodded in that direction each time he mentioned the Soviet Unhon.

Gadhafi again challenged the Americans to produce evidence of Libyan involvement in terrorist attacks and claimed that although the Rome and Vienna airport attacks last year were directed against Israeli targets, the Americans felt they had to retaliate.

Gadhafi challenged America to occupy Libyan shores and said that even if it succeeded, it could not bring its fleets and aircraft carriers to the middle of the desert. "They may be masters of the sea, but we are masters of our own land. If America came to our land we must fight it, men and women [illegible] trench. We shall transform Libya and its land into glowing coals.

"America would like to regain the shores of the Mediterranean. This is not aimed against Libya, but against the Soviet Union. The

By Nora Boustany

Americans want to gain influence from Turkey to Tangiers.

"If America wins in gaining control of the Libyan shores, the Warsaw Pact will be endangered and the Mediterranean will fall in American hands. Since Reagan retaliated on behalf of Israelis for the Rome and Vienna airport attacks, the Soviet Union should rightfully use the force of arms to defend the Arabs," he continued.

Libya gets most of its arms from the Soviet Union. With annual oil revenues estimated to have fallen from $22 billion to $4 billion, Libya has reduced other imports. Scolding those who were easy to seduce with worldly goods and "through their stomachs," Gadhafi warned that they their behavior and weakness could spell disaster and "bring fighter-bombers onto their heads."

Gadhafi's speech contrasted sharply with comments made by his deputy, Abdel Salaam Jalloud, at a press conference on Saturday in which he promised that Libya would cooperate in tracking down terrorists if the United States furnished details on the alleged Libyan plots to carry out attacks against American targets.

At his press conference, Jalloud said, "All statements and military preparations indicate there will be new aggression against Libya," referring to U.S. news reports of possible strikes against Libya should there be more terrorist acts against Americans or their interests.

"The Libyan people totally reject and refuse the accusation of terror[illegible] are the first victims of organized state terrorism led by the American administration," he said. If the United States disclosed names and specifics on purported terrorist plots, "We will cooperate fully to avert and abort such attacks and apprehend the individuals and put them on trial."

Jalloud said that the Reagan administration had been sent a request for such information through diplomatic channels but that it had gone unanswered. "If the American administration has this information, let them give it to us. We will work together not only to apprehend them and try them publicly, but we will even present those individuals to an international court."

"If America says its attack against Libya will be because of those terrorist preparations, well, we are in a position to avoid both — the terrorist attacks and the American aggression — and we can solve the whole problem," Jalloud insisted, offering his proposal as the best way out of a military confrontation.

Jalloud warned that Libya will not "permit the battle to be confined to the Libyan frontier. And after this we shall not be concerned with peace, neither in the Mediterranean nor in the region nor in the whole world."

He raised the prospect of retaliation against Europe because, he said, the United States could not wage an attack against Libya directly from its own soil but needed logistical support from European territory. This means that Europe would be a party to any aggression, he said.

Rogers Outlines Case For Further Bombing

By George C. Wilson

WASHINGTON — The United States should bomb Libya again, perhaps with B52 bombers, if Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi commits any new acts of terrorism against Americans, Gen. Bernard W. Rogers, commander of U.S. forces in Europe, said last week.

The four-star Army general stressed in a breakfast meeting with reporters that "I'm talking for Bernie Rogers," not for President Reagan, as he made the military case for attacking Gadhafi again, if warranted, with the most suitable weapons in the U.S. arsenal.

Rogers also said there was "credible evidence" that Gadhafi is about to unleash terrorists, and insisted that neither the Air Force F111 bombers recently sent to Britain nor the two Navy aircraft carriers manuevering in the Mediterranean were part of a current pre-strike plan.

The general first spoke of using the eight-engine B52s against Libya as he explained that F111s were selected for the April 15 bombing raid not to demonstrate the long reach of American power but to make sure all targets were hit. "If you want to show Gadhafi that he's not immune to any of the resources of the United States," Rogers said, "put the B52s over some targets out of North Dakota or out of Maine."

Since Reagan opted for military action against Libya in light of allies' refusal to go along on economic and diplomatic sanctions, Rogers said, "I think Gadhafi has to understand if he involves (himself) in sensational terrorist acts against U.S. personnel or facilities and his fingerprints are found on that, he's likely to suffer similar type punishment as he did on the 15th of April.

"I happen to be one who believes, I'm sure it's not a unanimous opinion," the European commander continued, "that if those conditions obtain again — an attack against our people, an attack against our facilities and Gadhafi is found responsible for it — that we need to strike again. Otherwise, why did we strike the first time? He needs to understand that he's not immune to being struck by any of the resources the United States possesses.

"I'm not talking about landing the Marines on the shores of Tripoli. I'm talking about the kinds of assets we have that could reach targets within Libya" without putting "the platforms over the targets. We've got the B52s in the United States," Rogers said in a second reference to the big bombers. "He just has to understand that he's subject to that kind of treatment."

Rogers, who as theater commander oversees the planning of strikes against Libya, said "standoff" weapons like cruise missiles, which can be fired from a long distance by bombers, ships and submarines, were the type of "assets" he had in mind. In the April raid, Air Force and Navy bombers flew through Libyan ground defenses to drop precision-guided gravity bombs. One two-man F111 bomber was shot down.

"As far as old Bernie Rogers is concerned, we ought to keep that guy (Gadhafi) on the qui vive (or under stress) all the time; just keep him worried; keep him concerned; so he knows, and we're out there, that if he screws up again we're going to go after him. You must understand that I'm not speaking for anybody but Bernie Rogers."

Rogers said F111s were recently sent to Britain to participate in a military exercise "strictly unrelated to what's going on in the Mediterranean, but if he thinks it's related, so much the better." He said this would be part of "keeping the bastard on the qui vive".

Gadhafi "learned a lesson" in April, Rogers said, and went into a depression afterwards. But now, Rogers said, he is planning new terrorists acts so he boast about his ability to strike American targets "with impunity". In Rogers' view, the Libyan leader "has to be somewhat concerned about how long he may remain in charge" because of his psychological condition "and those prepared to take the reins from him".

Keeping Up Psychological Pressure

By Don Oberdorfer and Lou Cannon

WASHINGTON — The resurgence of tension between the United States and Libya was rooted in a Reagan administration plan to pressure Col. Gadhafi, first formulated in January and updated in mid-August by President Reagan and his top foreign policy advisers, administration officials said last week.

The sudden return of the U.S.-Libya conflict to front pages and television evening news shows was a surprise to the U.S. public — and also to the top ranks of the executive branch, which reacted to the unexpected publicity with disarray and confusion.

One decision made in mid-August, according to a participant, was to withhold any information about the newly revamped U.S. campaign against the Libyan leader. Thus many officials were taken aback by an usually lengthy and detailed Wall Street Journal account of the plan, which stirred a week of comment and speculation.

The U.S. plan, according to knowledgeable officials, includes economic, political and military pressures, from economic sanctions to covert action to U.S. military exercises in the Mediterranean intended to impress Libya with American might. Another element, an official said, is "keeping psychological pressure on Gadhafi" in an effort to add to his many problems.

An official who participated in several U.S. planning meetings said he had never heard anyone say during the discussions that an aim was to "scare Gadhafi" into taking irrational actions. Another participant said the "hidden agenda" of some officials seems to be to provoke Gadhafi into dangerous and erratic action, but that such a goal does not appear in any policy paper.

Since coming to power, the Reagan administration has been gripped, some say obsessed, by the mercurial Libyan leader. Libya was a major item on the agenda of the first Reagan-era National Security Council meeting on Jan. 21, 1981, and the topic has often recurred.

Since the immediate fallout of the April bombing raid — including efforts to enlist European support for anti-Libyan sanctions — the subject of Libya had faded from public attention and from attention of top U.S. policymakers.

That began to change, so far as administration insiders were concerned, by late July when Reagan approved a new Libya policy review within the National Security Council. This led to two meetings of the highly secret Crisis Pre-Planning Group on the subject of Libya, and, in the week of Aug. 11, a meeting of Reagan and his top advisers in a National Security Planning Group that formulated the revised U.S. plan.

Several reasons have been cited by officials for the renewal of U.S. planning. Secretary of State George P. Shultz and national security affairs adviser John M. Poindexter thought "it was time to take another look," said a policymaker. He and others said there was also the renewal of intelligence reports of Libyan efforts to arrange terrorist actions, after a period when few such efforts were reported.

Senior White House officials say they have "hard evidence" that Gadhafi has been planning new terrorism against Americans and "other targets" in Europe. Another official familiar with the intelligence said "the stuff wasn't real hard" but that U.S. agencies in cooperation with other governments are attempting to pin it down.

Whatever the quality of the intelligence, nobody has claimed it is the sort of "direct . . . precise . . . irrefutable" evidence that Reagan cited in announcing the April 15 air strikes against Libya.

The Washington Post

Bearing Machine-Guns

LAST SPRING legislation was passed and signed into law that significantly weakened federal gun controls. The National Rifle Association had moved the measure along with its usual one-two combination of campaign contributions and threats of political retribution, but somewhere at the end of the legislative shuffle a few good things were added to the bill, mostly rather modest restrictions to deal with some of the deadlier threats posed to law enforcement officers by the nation's thriving traffic in weapons.

One of these provisions dealt with machine guns, which are — so help us, Al Capone — legal and even popular with certain gun hobbyists. They are, to be sure, strictly regulated. Anyone who wishes to maintain one in his armory and be within the limits of the law must be fingerprinted, photographed, investigated by federal authorities and vouched for by his local police chief. (The chief in Tulsa, Okla., announced recently that he does not plan to issue any such character references in the future, no matter how honest a face the applicant may have, which is one way of dealing with this sort of non-nuclear proliferation.)

But despite all the hindrances, there is something on the order of 127,000 machine guns legally in private hands. Rep. Lawrence J. Smith (D-Fla.) figured that was more than enough and sponsored the amendment, which passed, forbidding registration of any newly manufactured automatic weapons. The legal traffic in such guns will thus be limited to the 127,000 already out there. Now, predictably, an NRA official says it will be that organization's "highest priority" to repeal this assault on the right to fire 750 rounds a minute.

A spokesman for the International Association of Chiefs of Police said that "the law enforcement community is going to resist repeal of this provision with all the force it can muster," as well it might, considering that to the police, and to some of the rest of us as well, this is a life-or-death matter.

The long-running and acrimonious debate about gun controls has been inflamed over the years by a high degree of mistrust and misunderstanding. Both were eloquently expressed during last spring's debate by Democratic Rep. Roy Dyson of Maryland's Eastern Shore. "I'm fundamentally opposed to gun control," he said. "I represent my district on that. My cousin and sister-in-law keep guns. All my life, we've had to deal with snakes coming up on the porch, and wild dogs. We feel very comfortable with guns. I don't think urban legislators understand that."

But legislators who feel as Mr. Dyson does should know that the grim specter of confiscation does not lurk behind every move to curb Saturday night specials, to ban armor-piercing bullets or to restrict the number of machine guns so there will be fewer of them available for criminals to use. Urban and rural legislators should be able to find common ground in the proposition that it doesn't take 750 rounds to kill a snake on the front porch.

NRA Seeks Repeal Of Ban

By Howard Kurtz

WASHINGTON — The National Rifle Association, having won a major victory in weakening federal gun-control laws, is taking aim at a congressional ban on the sale of new machine guns.

A provision to ban the private purchase or sale of newly manufactured machine guns — those not already registered with the federal government — was added to the McClure-Volkmer gun-decontrol law in the final minute of House debate last spring. The ban has the effect of limiting the number of machine guns in legal circulation to about 127,000.

The 3 million-member NRA, itself under fire from other gun activists, says it has lined up House and Senate sponsors for repeal legislation and that the measure will be the group's "highest priority."

"It's our position that legally registered machine guns are not a crime problem," said James J. Baker, NRA governmental affairs director. Most machine-gun owners were affluent, politically active and "probably the most well-investigated gun owners in the country."

Opponents scoffed at the NRA's plan. "I think they're crazy," said Barbara Lautman of Handgun Control Inc. "I don't think anyone is going to stand up on the floor of the House or Senate and vote to legalize machine guns . . . We don't see why anyone needs to own a fully automatic weapon." The law-enforcement community is going to resist repeal of this provision with all the force it can muster," said Dan Rosenblatt, spokesman for the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

The ban, sponsored by Rep. Lawrence J. Smith, D-Fla., does not apply to weapons made for law-enforcement agencies or the military, but it effectively ends machine-gun production for private ownership.

NRA officials said the measure penalizes law-abiding citizens while leaving black-market weapons untouched. "This legislation marks the first time any class of firearm has been banned for consumption by the American public," the NRA said in its newsletter.

Jack Killoran, a BATF spokesman, said one part of the ban — outlawing all parts that are used solely to convert legal weapons to machine guns — would close a dangerous legal loophole.

"The source of the problem with illegal machine guns has been the availability of the stuff to make them out of," Killoran said. "You could mail-order bits and pieces and convert a legal weapon. Now, the availability of key components will be severely restricted."

Killoran said that more criminals, particularly drug traffickers and extremist groups, appear to be using machine guns. The agency seized 2,042 illegal machine guns in fiscal 1985, up from 530 the previous year.

Machine guns "have some kind of fascination to the firearms enthusiast," Killoran said. But Lautman complained that NRA lobbyists "really believe the Second Amendment guarantees the right to own anything you want, be it a machine gun, a handgun or a bazooka."

"Machine guns were not created for lawful sporting or hunting purposes," the police chiefs' group said in a letter last May. "They exist for one reason only: to destroy human beings in large numbers in short periods of time. They pose an extraordinary threat to the safety of the public and to law enforcement."

South's 'Miracle' Of Hard Work

SEOUL — "We have a quota. We fill it." Kim Jom Sook, 24, an industrial seamstress, can't spare much time to explain why she works so hard. The minute or so she has given to visitors at her sewing machine at Seoul's Jin Lee Garments Manufacturing Co. already has put her behind in the 10-hour wind sprint that for blue-collar South Korea is a common working day.

Fingers flying, Kim makes silk neck sections, 200 of them per shift. In the room around her, 120 men and women sew, cut, fold and press with astonishing speed and [illegible] stylish silk dresses and blouses for sale in American department stores such as Bloomingdale's and J.C. Penney.

"They don't drink coffee; they don't smoke," company president Lee Tae Bok said approvingly, gazing over the room.

It is in places like this that the "economic miracle" of South Korea is rooted. When the mettle of people like seamstress Kim is seen firsthand, it all seems rather simple: South Koreans work as if their lives depend on it. They live in spartan company dormitories. They commute standing up on jammed buses. They labor long hours with one day off a week. It was all for an average $70 a week in factories in 1985, government figures show.

However hard things are, they are easier than they were. Twenty-five years ago, South Korea was a world-pitied pauper. Today it is racing headlong toward industrial affluence. Gross national product per person was $82 in 1961; it is about $2,000 now, putting it below Japan and Singapore but still ahead of other Asian countries. Last year South Korea exported goods worth $30 billion, meaning, by some counts, that it is already the world's 12th largest trading nation.

South Korea boasts automobile production lines with robot welders, dust-free labs churning out advanced computer chips and a steel plant that has been rated the world's most efficient. But it is operations like Jin Lee, which means "double progress," that are more representative of the whole: lots of people, little technology, no waste.

The changes wrought by the "economic miracle" on South Korean society are hard to fathom. In a single generation, a nation of farmers has become a nation of industrial workers; about 70 percent of the 40 million South Koreans now live in urban areas. Seoul has ballooned into the world's fourth-largest city. Many of the ills of runaway capitalism have appeared — pollution, sweatshops and strong antiunionism — but few South Koreans would turn back the clock.

Delegations from other developing countries often come to Seoul hoping to tap the secret of success. No single explanation suffices. But often cited are Confucian discipline; shrewd, often ruthless government controls; good education and a martial mood honed by continuing confrontation with North Korea, which the south fought inconclusively in the 1950-53 Korean War.

The Koreans have a word, *koseng*, often translated as "hard times." It might be a company's year of low sales, a politician's term in jail, or a minister's struggle to build a new church. It is something everyone experiences and overcomes, extracting a grim kind of pleasure along the way.

Take Anh U Su, 22, an unmarried spray-painter who works 11 hours a day, six days a week in a factory outside Seoul that makes plastic tables.

Anh finds his life trying but not intolerable. "If I work as hard as I can," he says, "the company will grow and my wages will grow, too." He occasionally gets stomach pains from inhaling the paint, but he presses on.

South Koreans bristle at being compared to their former colonial masters, the Japanese. The fact is, however, they are mimicking the Japanese development strategy, albeit on a smaller scale. Their sales to the United States in 1985 totaled about $11 billion, compared with Japan's $70 billion or so. Like Japan, South Korea has no significant resources beyond its people. Like Japan, it decided to solve that by betting everything on exports.

South Korea began in the 1960s with simple goods — toys, clothing, shoes, kitchenware, and wigs. The government encouraged exports. By 1970, exports had almost hit $1 billion. In the following decade, ships, steel and color televisions became big items and by 1980, exports had reached almost $18 billion.

More progress has come in the 1980s. Last year, South Korea began selling video cassette recorders and advanced microchips abroad. This year, it sent its first

Second of three articles by John Burgess

cars to the United States, Hyundai Excels. A second Korean car, the LeMans, built in a joint venture with General Motors and South Korea's Daewoo group, is scheduled to be marketed by General Motors in the United States next year.

Last year was rough by South Korean standards — the economy grew by only about 5 percent. Declining demand overseas brought a highly unusual slump in exports, hitting the shipbuilding industry especially hard. Thousands of workers were laid off.

Today, things are humming again, bolstered by what people here call "the three blessings" — cheap dollars, cheap oil and low interest rates.

The value of South Korea's currency, the won, is pegged to that of the U.S.dollar. With the dollar, it has declined against the Japanese yen, making Korean products cheap relative to Japanese products. Exports soared by 35 percent in the first half of this year. (On the down side, however, the revaluation has made imports from Japan and repayment of yen loans more expensive.)

Cheap oil in the first half of the year knocked $1 billion off import bills. And the decline in world interest rates has saved the country about $150 million on debt service payments.

The three blessings have helped South Korea turn a crucial corner in its economic history this year. After decades of red ink in its foreign trade, it is for the first time registering a significant surplus in its overall trade accounts, $600 million in the first six months of 1986.

It seems a solid, independent economic base. However, South Korean industry remains hostage to foreign countries for a wide variety of crucial items — raw material, designs, production equipment, key components, and oil. The LeMans is a case in point. The car was designed by West Germans; the transaxle, the gearbox that transfers torque from engine to wheels, is Japanese, and every drop of gasoline is imported.

South Korea's foreign debt is staggering. The government owes $47 billion to overseas creditors. (Foreign investment has played a comparatively small role here because Koreans prefer to borrow the money and reap the profits themselves.) Company debt is also enormous. Balance sheets of many companies and banks would be considered case studies in bankruptcy in the United States. "There's not a company in Korea that I would consider adequately capitalized," said Samuel A. Clark, general manager of Security Pacific National Bank's Seoul branch.

Last year, the Kukje group, South Korea's sixth-largest industrial and trading conglomerate, became over extended and collapsed. Swift action by the government minimized damage to the economy as a whole. Officials gave financial incentives to other companies to [illegible] salvageable parts of the Kukje empire. Foreign banks got a firm promise, later kept, that they would not lose a cent on any loans to Kukje.

Actions like that and the economy's continued rapid growth have helped keep foreign banks bullish on South Korea. In Latin America, dollars lent for development often end up in Swiss bank accounts, they say. In South Korea, you can count on a loan going to the promised factory or power plant.

World Bank studies show South Korea is doing fairly well in distributing this new-found wealth. Yet, many people are deeply dissatisfied. Indignation against long years of military-backed government is rising and with it, by many accounts, a feeling that the economic miracle also ignores the rights of large parts of society. "We do not get a fair reward for our labor," said the Rev. In Myung Jin, a Presbyterian who works with dissident trade union groups.

In theory, South Korea has free labor unions. In fact, management and government alike often treat the appearance of independent unions as a threat to society and use the police to break them up. This has worked in some places. In others, it has simply forced organizers underground. Many of them are radical students who gain factory jobs by disguising their backgrounds.

"The company expects so much from its workers," said a young woman who has taken a job at a Seoul factory with hopes of organizing it. "In return, it won't listen to even the smallest request. Harassment and abuse are very common."

Dissidents criticize the concentration of power the government has fostered in the family-controlled conglomerates, which are often compared to the *zaibatsu*, the huge trading, manufacturing and financial conglomerates that dominated the Japanese economy before World War II. Sales of the top 10 conglomerates make up more than 60 percent of South Korea's entire gross national product. The top three — Samsung, Hyundai and Lucky-Goldstar — account for more than 30 percent alone.

The opposition also charges that South Korea has become far too dependent on the world economy. Its debt is too large, they say, and places the country at the mercy of foreigners. Radicals in the opposition see it as imperialism plain and simple, the United States and Japan enslaving South Korea economically.

Indeed, economic nationalism is an issue that occasionally unites all political factions of the society. U.S. pressure for South Korea to reduce its $5 billion-a-year trade surplus with the United States by opening its market further is seen by both government and opposition as patent bullying.

"It is very difficult to persuade people that our market should be opening up when the markets in the advanced countries are closing down," said Nyum Jin, assistant minister of the government's Economic Planning Board.

Zia Warns Pakistan Opposition

By Richard M. Weintraub

ISLAMABAD — President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq said at the weekend that the opposition led by Benazir Bhutto is trying to throw the country into chaos and made it clear that there are limits to the pace of political development that will be tolerated in Pakistan.

After praising a "peaceful eight years" under military rule, Zia said in an interview that "we would have expected more patriotic thinking in the political parties. . . . Unfortunately . . . we found a spirit of confrontation, of violence in politics. When the political personalities start thinking in these ways, somebody has to take steps."

Zia endorsed the sharp crack-down on the opposition Movement for the Restoration of Democracy by Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo just before Pakistan's independence day on August 14. Hundreds of opposition leaders were detained, and political rallies were banned after government leaders said they had learned of plans to create widespread violence on. Pakistan People's Party leader Bhutto was arrested in Karachi and remains imprisoned just outside the southern port city.

More than 25 people were killed and injured in clashes primarily between opposition activists and police and military forces in the days just after the arrests, prompting initial expressions of concern by the State Department and other Western governments.

General Zia — 'spirit of confrontation'

In a wide-ranging interview, the president, 63, said there are "sufficient grounds" to believe that Bhutto "was and is in league with the Soviet Union," although he declined to provide the evidence, saying it was not yet sufficient for a formal court test. He also denied a request to interview the opposition leader to allow her to respond.

He emphasized areas of progress in talks that have taken place in Geneva on a negotiated settlement to the six-year war in Afghanistan and took pains to underscore his hopes for eventual progress in dealing with the Indian government of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, attributing the recent stalemate in Indian-Pakistani relations to internal troubles in India that people around Gandhi were trying to blame on Pakistan.

Zia spoke only hours before leaving for the summit meeting of nonaligned nations in Harare, Zimbabwe, as last-minute stand-in for Junejo, who reportedly has developed an inner ear infection that prevents him from traveling by air.

During the interview, Zia, who also remains army chief, sharply underscored what he saw as the stability and maturity of leadership under direct military rule, which ended in December 1985, and the uncertainty of politics under civilian government. The degree to which the military will allow the evolution of civilian rule in Pakistan has been a major unanswered question of the country's current experiment with movement toward a democratic form of government.

Zia said his original 18-month program for restoration of civilian rule had not envisaged an early introduction of party politics. The elections of February 1985 were on a non-party basis and were boycotted by the MRD, a coalition of opposition parties.

He appeared to place responsibility for the current situation on Junejo, saying that the prime minister "felt you cannot run the country on a non-party basis," and as a result the parties were allowed to function again. It was this decision, coupled with the lack of "patriotic thinking" in the parties, that has led to Pakistan's current political climate.

"The present situation . . . is nothing but the result of total confrontation. It is designed purely to take power . . . to embarrass the present government," through certain chaos.

The opposition alliance has called for mid-term elections and now has been joined in this appeal by the small opposition group within the national assembly, but the government has refused even to consider the idea.

Zia's remarks indicate the limits of tolerance within the military for a sudden opening of Pakistani politics. While he said that the "present agitation is only at the surface and has no roots," the opposition has vowed to continue its campaign, even though it so far has failed to demonstrate widespread support.

Spectacular Escape By Berlin Truck-D.

By Jackson Diehl

BERLIN — A young East German truck driver weighted his vehicle with gravel and rammed it through four barriers at a Berlin Wall checkpoint last week, successfully dodging gunfire from guards and escaping to the West with his girlfriend and eight-month-old child. None of the three was hurt, and the family is residing temporarily at a West Berlin refugee shelter. "We're overjoyed," the woman said on West German television in a telephone interview.

Diplomats and police said the charge across the border, which took only five or 10 seconds, was one of the most spectacular escapes in the history of the Berlin Wall, which passed its 25th anniversary Aug. 13. "It's certainly a daring feat," said Tom Homan, spokesman for the U.S. mission here. "He put seven tons of gravel behind him and just stepped on the gas. We welcome anyone who comes across in this way."

Homan said the three western powers adminstering West Berlin (the United States, Britain and France), had filed a protest with the Soviet Union over the firing by guards, calling it "brutal force". In Bonn, West German government spokesman Friedhelm Ost also condemned the shooting for endangering bystanders' lives. "As long as this continues, we cannot speak of normal relations" between East and West Germany, Ost said.

The smash through Checkpoint Charlie, a heavily traveled thoroughfare in the 100-mile-long wall, left a trail of splintered wooden barriers and brick and concrete debris on the East Berlin side.

The checkpoint is about 300 yards from one end to the other and resembles a tollbooth on the eastern side, with double lane channels separated by concrete shelters. Barricades stand on both sides of the lanes and the final iron gates close automatically when an alarm is triggered.

The 7-ton blue dump truck used by the East Germans struck the first barriers in the lanes at 12:0 a.m. Then, as alarms sounded, it swerved over floodlit pavement

The [illegible]ars

toward the final double steel gate. It struck them as they were closing and sideswiped one gate, buckling it and ripping bricks off the wall to which it was attached.

East German guards fired several single shots but missed. The truck was hailed by western police as it crossed the border but did not stop until it was nearly half a mile past the checkpoint. "I guess he figured that if he had made it that far, there was no way he was going to stop for us," one western military guard remarked admiringly.

The vehicle had its front windshield smashed on the driver's side and the side of the cab heavily dented. An iron plate mounted on the front of the truck appeared to have borne the impact with the barriers.

Police said the East German was 32 and the woman with him was 26. The man's regular job was as a truck driver with a state construction firm. The position allowed him to load the truck with gravel and approach construction sites near the border without arousing suspicion.

Reagan — Big Talk, Small Stick

By Philip Geyelin

THE penalty you pay for the enrichment of foreign travel in this business is the avalanche of old newspapers and other chronicles that awaits your return. But the heavy sifting has occasional rewards: My late entry for August's mindless quote-of-the-month is Ronald Reagan's anniversary reflection on the Berlin Wall.

If we'd gone in there and knocked down the barbed wire that was first erected, he boldly said 25 years after the fact, "I don't think there'd be a wall today, because I don't think they wanted to start a war over that."

Good grief. We are talking about recent history. The wall was the consequence rather than the cause of the Berlin crisis of 1961. The serious threat was Nikita Khrushchev's stated intent to break the four-power occupation agreement by signing a separate peace treaty with East Germany and turning over responsibility for East Berlin to the Communist East German government. President Kennedy's quick response was a call-up of reserves and the reinforcement of U.S. troops in Central Europe.

The resulting war scare had turned a steady westward flow of some 3.5 million East Germans since the end of the war into a torrent, up from the hundreds to the thousands every day of the youngest and brightest. Mr. Reagan has it half right; the Soviets did not want to start a war. They wanted to stop a hemorrhage.

The allies would have had to start the war to prevent the Soviets from rebuilding barricades deeper into East Germany as fast as they were "knocked down". To have judged otherwise, Kennedy would have had to go against the counsel of his advisers, his French and British partners in the occupation and the West Germans who had the most to lose.

Does Ronald Reagan not know all this — or not care? No matter; that is not the interesting part.

We should be grateful that the president's most ferocious fantasies are retrospective. In the 1980 campaign he talked of how he would have blockaded Cuba and told the Soviets, "now, Buster, we'll lift it when you take your forces out of Afghanistan." In 1975 he blasted President Ford for not using B-52s to crush the final North Vietnamese assault and said that if South Korea was ever similarly threatened "B-52s should make a moonscape out of North Korea". In 1965 he would have declared war on North Vietnam: "We could pave the whole country and put parking stripes on it and still be home for Christmas."

We should be all the more grateful that in real life the Rambo is really Walter Mitty: He dreams big and carries a small stick. He does, to be sure, beat up 7,000 or so Cuban combat engineers in Grenada. He sends military aid to "freedom fighters" from Afghanistan to Angola to Nicaragua. Ineffectually he mines Nicaraguan ports, but he does not blockade Nicaragua and he has not (so far) dispatched U.S. combat troops there.

He is quick on the draw with F-111s to scare the wits out of Moammar Gadhafi — but he has not yet reached for B-52s.

He sends marines to Lebanon But when the shells of the battleship New Jersey cannot bring the warring Lebanese factions to their senses, he cuts his considerable losses. He withdraws the American military presence only weeks after proclaiming that it was vital not only to peace in the Middle East and access to Gulf oil but to the whole world power balance.

And yet — here we get to the interesting part — the popular perception of Mr. Reagan at home and abroad is that of a tough customer. His appeal runs through hard-nosed conservatives who want nothing more than to reassert American power against the encroachment of international communism and the scourge of international terrorism. And this appeal is broad; his handling of foreign affairs has the approval of two-thirds of the American people.

Surely there is the suggestion here of a shaky foundation for sound policy, of a certain public confusion over what is wanted and what standards should be applied to the people in charge. Toughness cannot be the test; only a third of the American public approves President Reagan's efforts to dislodge Nicaragua's Sandinist government. Consistency obviously does not count for much, and still less does a command of the subject or a concern for reality.

So what does the public want? Given Ronald Reagan's rare, mesmerizing, magic touch, we may have to wait until 1988, and the choice of a successor, to find out.

Midair Collision Kills 67 In LA

By Douglas B. Feaver

AN AEROMEXICO jetliner and a small plane collided in the air southeast of Los Angeles International Airport Sunday morning and then plunged to the ground in suburban Cerritos, killing at least 67 people. There were no survivors on either airplane.

As many as 11 houses on the ground caught fire as flaming wreckage fell from the sky. There were several fatalities on the ground, though police were not able to confirm how many. At least four people were injured on the ground and treated at hospitals.

The collision between Aeromexico Flight 498 — en route from Guadalajara to Los Angeles International — and the unidentified small plane occurred in the busiest airspace in the United States, the Los Angeles basin, at an altitude of 6,200 feet.

All airplanes in the area of the collision — large and small, commercial and private — are supposed to be under the positive direction of the Federal Aviation Administration's air traffic control system. However, sources said only the Aeromexico flight was visible on the radar screen, meaning the small plane was not equipped with or was not using a radar-enhancing device, called a transponder, that is required in controlled airspace.

If that highly preliminary information proves correct, it means the small plane was flying illegally. Small "targets" sometimes are not readily visible on air traffic radar without the device.

The collision, is certain to reopen the old question of whether small pleasure or business aircraft should be mixed in the same airspace with commercial airliners potentially carrying hundreds of people.

It is also certain to reattract attention to the FAA's air traffic control system, which is short of fully qualified personnel and which recently cracked down on drug-using controllers in the Los Angeles area, although not those in the facility handling the Aeromexico flight at the time of the collision.

Edward R. Murrow: The Voice Of The News

By Jonathan Yardley

…AND TIMES. By …h Books, 795 pp.

…W worked in broad-…nescent of all news …ble legacy is predict-… radio tapes, blurred …blished collection of his …nally can be found in …et his actual legacy, the … the hearts of journalists and liste… …ke, remains remarkably large two full decades after his death. Not merely was he the greatest journalist ever to work in broadcasting — indeed, the only "great" journalist broadcasting has thus far produced — but he was for millions of Americans a figure of conscience, rectitude and professional integrity, who established standards against which reputable broadcasters still measure themselves and against which listeners and viewers still measure them.

This being the case, it is a real pity that the Murrow biography being represented as "definitive" comes close to being a case study in how not to write biography. *Murrow: His Life and Times* is a well-intentioned book by a woman whose admiration for her subject is intense, but the heavens do not contain enough good intentions to paper over the shortcomings of what A.M. Sperber hath wrought: her insistence on battering the reader with every trivial detail her research has uncovered, her interminable descriptions of individual broadcasts and political maneuverings at CBS, her inability to distill protracted episodes down to the core of their meaning, her cloying, cliché-ridden, saccharine prose — and, worst of all, her utter failure to analyze the style and content of Murrow's journalism. A lean, interpretive biography of perhaps 350 pages would have served Murrow just right; instead he is suffocated by one more than twice that length.

The broad details of Murrow's life and career are familiar to most people old enough to remember him; it is remarkable how little this vast accumulation of factoids manages to broaden our understanding of them. He was born in North Carolina in 1908, moved to the Pacific Northwest as a boy, and lived in a state of near-poverty that left him with a life-long sympathy for the deprived. He came to journalism somewhat by accident, after beginning adult life in jobs that encouraged his interest in public and foreign affairs, but once he got to CBS he took little time to show what he could do. His broadcasts from England during World War II — "This . . . is London" — brought the realities of the Blitz home to Americans with almost unbearable intimacy and had much to do with swinging American sentiment away from isolationism.



Ed Murrow — by Karsh

After the war came television, with which Murrow was never really comfortable but in which he nevertheless distinguished himself. *See It Now*, his news series for CBS, was probably the most serious and accomplished regular news program ever produced for commercial television; surely no one needs to be told that it was Murrow's *See It Now* program about Joseph McCathy in March 1954 that crystallized public and senatorial opposition to the rogue elephant from Wisconsin. Gradually, though, television news came under the purview of the advertisers and entertainers, and there wasn't much of a place left for one so committed to true journalism as was Murrow. He did several fine documentaries for *CBS Reports*, most notably "Harvest of Shame," but when he had a chance to escape, he seized it: in 1961 he accepted John F. Kennedy's invitation to run the United States Information Agency, a job for which he was not really suited — he belonged on the other side of the news — but to which he gave his best efforts. In 1965 he died of lung cancer, killed off by the cigarettes that, along with his inimitable voice, had been his trademark.

He was once the right man and the wrong man for his times. When he entered broadcast journalism, it was an infant medium with no preconceptions about how its business should be done. The instinct of those running it was that the news should be covered seriously; Murrow, with his training at the Institute of International Education and his wide acquaintance among leaders at home and abroad, was exactly the kind of young man CBS was looking for. During the war, when Americans were desperate for reliable information from overseas, Murrow gave them that and more: without ever trivializing the news, he gave it a human dimension, so that Americans understood the suffering and courage of ordinary Englishmen and then, after 1941, the ordeal their own sons and brothers were undergoing. Not merely that, but as head of CBS's European news operation, he recruited the best broadcast news team ever assembled: William L. Shirer, Charles Collingwood, Eric Sevareid, Howard K. Smith, David Schoenbrun — they and their other associates remain, four decades later, the model of what broadcast news can do, and has not done since.

But then the war ended, and Murrow could see what was coming. "He thought it already apparent," a friend said, "that the expansion, commercialism and impending advent of TV were all going to make news increasingly the servant of entertainment and commerce." He was right. Though Murrow did make one accommodation to the new age — his popular television program, *Person to Person*, which made him both a celebrity and a wealthy man — he never adjusted to its debased terms. In a speech delivered in the fall of 1958 he said: "It may be that the present system . . . can survive. Perhaps the money-making machine has some kind of built-in perpetual motion, but I do not think so . . . We are currently wealthy, fat, comfortable and complacent . . . Our mass media reflect this. But unless we get up off our fat surpluses and recognize that television . . . is being used to distract, delude, amuse and insulate us, then television and those who finance it, those who look at it and those who work at it, may see a totally different picture too late."

Almost overnight, the man who had been in the right place in the right time became a pariah. He was a man of high, exacting standards in a business that had decided that standards were irrelevant. His old friends in the corporate offices still thought he was a hell of a fellow, but suddenly they couldn't find much air-time for him. His last years, both at CBS and at USIA, were not happy. His health was deteriorating, but what really pained him was that there was no longer a place for him. How poignant it is to read what he said in 1961, as he was leaving for Washington, to an apprehensive Richard Salant, who was moving into the leadership of the CBS News Division: "Dick, you're just where I was when I started. I wasn't a journalist either; but you love it, and that's that. All you have to do is love the news." But by 1961 there was no longer a place in the news for Ed Murrow; surely that, as much as the cigarettes, is what killed him.

Backlash Against French By Spanish Basques

By Michael Dobbs

ST. JEAN DE LUZ, France — Expanded French cooperation with Spanish efforts against Basque terrorism has strengthened ties with Madrid but provoked widespread dismay in the Basque region of northern Spain and an angry backlash there against French tourists.

France's reversal of its traditional policy of welcoming Spanish political exiles began almost three years ago but has accelerated under the new conservative government. The most visible evidence came last month with the expulsions of five alleged Basque terrorists. While 36 alleged members of the Basque left-wing terrorist group ETA have been deported to other countries since 1983, this time four of the men ousted were handed over directly to the Spanish police — the first such instances in more than six years.

The French crackdown has delighted the Socialist government in Madrid, which had complained in the past of a lack of understanding in Paris for its undeclared war against Basque terrorism. But Ibaki Bariola, secretary of the nonviolent Basque Nationalist Party in Spain's San Sebastian region, said, "The French expulsions have destabilized the political situation on this side of the border." He cited a sudden upsurge in bombings and protest demonstrations, adding, "It's simply fueling the cycle of violence."

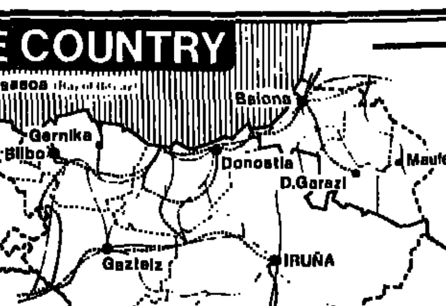
In apparent retaliation for the deportations, a mysterious group calling itself the "Refugee Aid Committee" has set fire to about 30 cars with French license plates in the Spanish Basque country. Two weeks ago, a Spanish army colonel was shot and killed as he walked out of a restaurant in a Basque village. Demonstrations against the expulsions also have taken place in several French towns, including this picturesque resort on the Atlantic Ocean, which were once regarded as natural places of refuge for Basque separatists.

The Basque region straddles the western Pyrenees, stretching from the Spanish industrial city of Bilbao in the south to the French port of Bayonne in the north. But the 250,000 French Basques have traditionally been less influenced by nationalist ideas than their 2.5 million Spanish compatriots.

Christiane Fando, a lawyer representing many Basque exiles in France, accused the French government of violating its own laws by failing to produce adequate evidence to support terrorism charges against the deportees. She claimed that some of those expelled had been tortured by Spanish police.

"The French police are simply expelling people on the basis of assertions that they are dangerous terrorists. They haven't produced any proof. They are simply rounding up people on a list that appears to have been drawn up in Madrid," she said.

The French government insists that it has the right to expel any



foreigner whose presence is considered a danger to public order. Officials say the case for granting political asylum to Spanish Basques has weakened now that Spain is a member of the European Community and a mature parliamentary democracy.

ETA (the initials in Basque stand for the Basque Homeland and Liberty) has warned that it may reconsider its policy of not attacking French targets. In a statement last month, it said France would be considered "an enemy of the Basque people" if it continued to deport alleged terrorists to Spain.

Terrorist activity has declined in the French Basque country. A self-styled "anti-terrorist organization" known as GAL, dedicated to carrying out reprisals in France for terrorist attacks in Spain, appears to have suspended activities.

The origins of GAL, which appeared on the scene three years ago with attacks on Basque refugees in France, remain mysterious. Some evidence suggests that the group was connected to elements in the Spanish police who were frustrated by what they took as a lack of French cooperation in combating Basque terrorism.

Support for the new anti-terrorist drive has come from several Basque mayors in France who regarded the exiles as unwelcome troublemakers. "There are not many French Basques who are in favor of independence. I don't think that these exiles should be allowed to stage demonstrations here," said Michel Poulou, mayor of the town of Ciboure, next to St. Jean de Luz.

If Poulou has any regret about the French crackdown, it is that he no longer feels comfortable visiting Spain. In the past, he used to cross the border every few days to visit friends and relatives or buy fruit and wine, which are cheaper on the Spanish side. He now prefers to stay at home.

The buck stops with Marin County

By Christopher Reed in San Francisco

IN a courtroom capitulation that gives new meaning to the axiom of charity beginning at [illegible] richest counties have become sole beneficiaries of a widow's legacy, expected to reach $1 billion by the year 2000.

A short drive across the Golden Gate bridge from Marin County, California, where the recipients live, thousands of hungry, homeless people roam the streets of San Francisco. In Alameda County on the bay's east shore, 23,148 people are blind or disabled, and more than 85,000 exist on incomes well below the official poverty level. None of these people will be entitled to a penny of the legacy.

Marin (home of the multi-millionaire film-maker George Lucas) is a bucolic haven of verdant hills, white-fenced farms, and discreetly conducted opulence. Amid this prosperity, its 223,700 residents will now be receiving more charity per capita than any other group of people in the world.

The windfall is the unexpected result of the death in 1975 of Mrs Beryl Buck, the childless widow of a doctor. In that year her estate, including shares in Belridge oil company, stood at $10.9 million. She decided to create the Buck fund, bequeathing its [illegible] Marin," and other charitable purposes in the county.

Before probate was completed, Shell oil bought Belridge for a sum which boosted the fund to $250 million in 1979. Today it is worth $435 million and generates $30 million a year — as much as the Rockefeller Foundation spends annually worldwide. The difference between the two is that, as the gleeful bumper stickers in Marin say, "the buck stops here".

Mrs Buck put the fund in the hands of the San Francisco Foundation, a small community trust financing philanthropic grants in the bay area. It not only had to find worthy projects in Marin, but was required to spend as the money became available. The consequent embarrassment of riches led to grants described by Forbe's magazine as "enhanced lotus eating".

Marin is home to an upper middle class community of such self-centred trendiness that it has been the subject of a satirical book and film, a television documentary called I Want It All Now, and numerous articles mocking its "mellow" self-absorption [illegible] area's poor, only 3.9 per cent of its health and mental problems, the fewest welfare recipients, and the second highest per capita income in the US for counties over 50,000 people.

A growing group of critical observers was aware of these discrepancies as it watched the money being spent. Among the most controversial items were $90,000 for landscaped bicycle paths in two of the richest parts of Marin. Amateur arts groups received more than established orchestras, and nearly $20,000 went to a home-owners' group, who then hired a swimming coach. Two community centres received $6 million for indoor swimming pools in a town unreachable by public transport from Marin city, where most of the county's poor and blacks live.

Civic leaders, apparently viewing Mrs Buck's money as a gift substitute for a local tax base, proposed "charitable" projects such as a new gaol and repaving all county roads at a cost of $522 …

Money did go to Marin city's disadvantaged — $9 million in five years. More than $2 million a year has been spent on the elderly, a youth centre, drug help, and job creation. Meanwhile the foundation staff grew from eight to 48 and the director's salary jumped from $70,000 to $150,000 a year.

The rising torrent of money provoked more unease. The foundation's executives had spent $158 million in Marin but only $58 million from other funds in the bay area's four other counties (total pop: 3,211,700). In January, 1984, they decided to go to court. Under an obscure tenet of probate, the foundation sought to show that, as Mrs Buck could never have expected the startling increase in her bequest, it should be shared among the area's genuinely needy.

The litigation decision, although imminent for months, was sprung so abruptly on Marin's representatives that they decided to countersue.

Other interested parties inflated the case to 10 teams of lawyers. Finally the foundation capitulated, agreeing to relinquish control of the Buck fund in favour of a new Marin community foundation dominated by local people. The case lasted two-and-a-half years and the hearing 93 days.

The costs were horrendous, amounting to $11 million so far. Public advocate, Robert Gnaizda, says: "The foundation was awarded $4 million in legal fees out of the trust it betrayed — the Buck money." He adds that although his firm gets nothing, he intends to appeal despite the risk of a $1 million penalty if he loses.

The foundation denies any sell-out.

Little attention has been paid to the worthy causes for charity so near to Marin, especially the growing army of indigents invading San Francisco daily. At Glide Memorial Methodist Church — one of the rejected charities represented by public advocates — the Rev. Cecil Williams feeds 3,800 street people and 40 mothers with children every day, when he has enough food. He relies on private donations of money and food. "We run out about 10 to 15 days a month and have to turn people away," he says.

Mr Williams can feed his hungry on $800,000 to $1 million a year, less than one-thirtieth of the Buck fund's current income.

You can't do much about flies

By Jill Tweedie

AWAY FROM IT ALL

DE-TARRING the flue of the stove yesterday, I caught sight of my hands. Scratched, blistered, oil-stained and broken-nailed, they are a far cry from their decorative London selves who haven't, in the past few years at least, undertaken many tasks more demanding than tapping typewriters, twiddling the knobs of washing machines and supporting the weight of the odd ring. Their battered state brought suddenly home just how distant from my erstwhile image of the country the real country really is.

Though common sense had always told me otherwise I had continued, at heart, to believe that it was a kind of beautiful toy, a toy with a spiritual dimension that bestowed upon its admirers uplifting thoughts, the first lines of poems and, if you were particularly receptive, various metaphysical revelations concerning wholeness and oneness and possibly God. After all, if you were nearer God's heart in a garden, in a forest you probably got to lodge inside His upper ventricle.

This belief was fostered by short rural forays, the occasional picnic on a sunny day, visits to cosy English villages and AA-recommended scenery viewed from the safety of cars. But to live in the country, as opposed to looking at it, is a bit like being given a doll's house that on closer inspection turns out to have bats in the attic, wet rot in the walls and cockroaches under the weeny stove.

Take flies, for instance (or midges or mossies or daddy-long-legs or bees or wasps or a million other flying things but flies will do). There, spread out before me, were the woodland walks, the drovers' tracks across the moors, the brooks and tumbling waterfalls, the whole rural idyll. In I dived, to gaze my fill, to fill my lungs with ionised air and my heart with sweet serenity. Three minutes later, out I dived, pursued by more flies than normally surround an Indian walking the plains of Rajasthan.

Never mind, I thought, tomorrow is another day. It was, and there were other flies, circling tightly round my head, bumping my forehead, inspecting my nostrils, zooming in one ear and out the other. I broke off a fern and lashed out. The flies sat on my flailing arm and chortled. The next morning I went out to hang up washing and was driven back in seconds. On the fourth day, running a buzzing gauntlet to the car, I drove to my nearest neighbour.

"The flies," I shrieked. "They're everywhere, hordes of them. What's wrong?"

He peered from the shelter of his door. "Wrong? How d'you mean?"

"Look at them. Look. I can't go out it's not normal, it's not healthy. What do you *do*?"

Baffled, he regarded my beating hands. "Stay indoors," he said, "is what I do."

There you were. That was the whole trouble with country people. They just put up with things and did nothing. No wonder nothing changed. Well, I'd see about that.

The Pest Control Officer came. "Got them in the house?" he asked hopefully, squinting at me through the inevitable cloud. "No? Oh dear. Now, if they was in the house or if they was wasps or ants, I could . . ."

With gritted teeth I telephoned an experimental farm in Berkshire where, among other things, they do research on insects. "Flies?" said Dr Andrew Farnham. "Now, if it were aphids . . ." Then, galvanised by my shrill squeaks, he told me kindly, informatively and at length that there was little to be done about flies. Since they did no quantifiable damage to crops or stock, none of the big pesticide companies were interested in funding the necessary research.

"We kill them by the pound in our piggeries. Makes not a bit of difference." He ended cheerfully: "God invented the fly, but forgot to say why. Ogden Nash, I think."

I went outside, scarved and cloaked, and chopped down a lot of undergrowth to relieve my feelings and in case flies nested there, if flies have nests. I thought of suggesting to Dr Farnham that he try breeding some crop-munching flies, just a few, till ICI shelled out. I thought of getting on to the Tourist Board. "Look here, you lot, you're always on about making the countryside an amenity but what price an amenity if you can't see it for flies?" For the first time, napalm didn't seem such a bad idea.

And then I noticed I wasn't noticing the flies. Soon, I also noticed that when I didn't notice them, they didn't notice me. I felt pleased with myself. No longer was I one of your hysterical cityfolk, screaming at anything buzzy or stingy. I just got on with things, like your true country person.

At the weekend, a London friend arrived. "Oh, oh, the flies," she squawked.

"Flies?" I said. "What flies?"

Emotional realism in the ritual grandeur

THEATRE by Michael Billington

ACCUSTOMED to dining off scraps, theatregoers in Edinburgh this year are confronted by a feast. In two days we have seen two masterly productions of great tragedies: Japan's Toho Company in Euripides's Medea and Spain's Compania Jose Luis Gomez in Lorca's Blood Wedding. The former vividly demonstrates the theatrical power of ritual, the latter that of heightened poetic realism.

Last year the Toho Company astonished us with Macbeth. This year they have the added bonus of playing in the courtyard of the Old College at Edinburgh University: the setting is like a miniature version of the Palais des Papes in Avignon and it is extraordinary to watch the story of Medea's savage infanticide being enacted against a background of mellow brick and neo-classical columns. It reinforces the point that this is a play about uncontainable violence erupting in a world of Corinthian order.

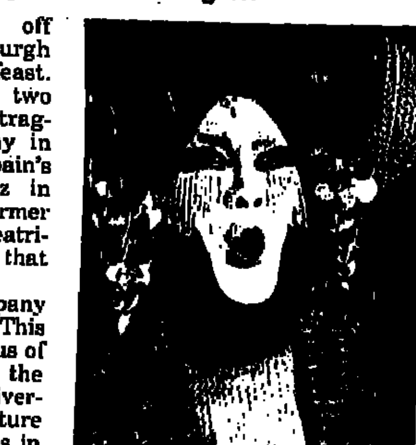
But this all-male, Kabuki-style production by Yukio Ninagawa also raises profound questions about the mystery of acting. In the last 18 months I have seen three actresses play Medea with valiant realism; yet none has moved me so much, or so convinced me of Medea's paradoxical love for her slaughtered children, as Mikijiro Hira does here. It is hard to explain how a man playing a woman can come closer to maternal passion than most actresses.

The answer lies partly in the ritualistic power of Ninagawa's production. Medea's two sons are established early on as tender, white-faced victims who execute a stately dance to plangent music: their curled, fleecy wigs even suggest lambs awaiting slaughter. But Hira himself also evokes a woman torn between revenge and love. At first his Medea is like some ornate, barbaric princess with silvery, cushioned headgear, raven dark hair, a tassled veil hanging from his cheeks, bare artificial breasts, a technicolour kabuki costume. As he gets closer to the murder, he strips down to a maroon, priest-like gown that emphasises the sinuous contortions of his body.

Seeing his sons for the last time, he rolls with them on the ground in a final, earthly embrace. And, once the murder is accomplished, he is last seen — in a sensational coup de theatre — rising in a dragon-winged chariot in the night sky high above the rim of the college buildings.

I have always questioned the Peter Hall argument that Greek tragedy needs to be stylised; but Ninagawa's production proved that the Kabuki mixture of drama, dance and song offers a key to Attic drama. The passion becomes more intense precisely because it is choreographed. Thus the Chorus of Corinthian women here become a non-individualised group in black beehive-like headpieces who register their grief by plucking shamisen (balalaika-like instruments), who wheel and career around Medea like attendant bats and who are implicated in every stage of her tragedy: as she plucks a knife from the ground and advances thunderously upstage to the murder, the Chorus fling aside their black cloaks to reveal a blood-red lining underneath. Ninagawa also uses music to heighten emotion: the chords of a Bach suite endlessly resound as the poison crown is borne to Creon and as the murder is achieved.

But what is finally impressive about this production is that, as in Kabuki itself, there is emotional



Mikijiro Hira as Medea

realism within the ritual grandeur. Medea, in the original, asks why she should hurt her children to make their father suffer. Here you sense the cost to Medea of her crime by the way in which Hira's fringed veil sweeps the ground as he crawls along it or by the final, despairing wave to his departing children.

Grieving motherhood and Greek sense of fate are also at the centre of Lorca's masterpiece Blood Wedding; and Jose Luis Gomez's spare, lean, highly musical and deeply moving Madrid-based production at the Royal Lyceum captures a sense of tragic inevitability.

Lorca based the play on a newspaper story about a bride from Almeria who on her wedding day ran off with her former lover: the jilted bridegroom followed them and the two men killed each other. What is uncanny about Lorca's play is its ability to move from realism to surrealism as he literally brings on stage the Moon and Death in the shape of a begger woman.

Gomez's production flawlessly conveys the play's shift of mood and sense of disaster hanging over the characters. There is something disturbingly Oedipal about the bridegroom's relationship with his mother whom he hugs, teases, slaps playfully on the rump. The bride and her former lover Leonardo (a dark, Lawrentian figure in a felt hat) circle round each other before the wedding with predatory fear and sexuality. And the wedding ceremony itself is implicit with doom: the bride wears black, the festal table is strewn with rose petals, the revellers pour blood-red wine down their throats and the groom's mother (the magnificent Gemma Cuervo) talks sensuously of once licking hands tainted with her son's blood.

Gomez makes you feel the tragedy springs both out of landscape and character: he offers constant visual reminder of the bare, scrubbed Andalusian hills and an aural one of pounding horse's hooves symbolising the instinctive forces that drive Leonardo and the Bride onwards.

He also copes effortlessly with the intervention of super-human agencies: as the woodcutters move to the forest with scythes, the moon is embodied by a pale, bald, naked woman and a cowled, hunched beggar becomes the symbol of death. His production is the precise realisation of Lorca's text evoking both the punitive cruelty of Spanish soil and the power of elemental passion. It is like Greek tragedy with the crucial difference that life goes mundanely on.

Rosa — lost flower of the Revolution

HISTORY with a capital H, which is what Margarethe Von Trotta calls her film about Rosa Luxemburg is no easy thing to handle on the screen. A more intimate portrait of one of those who marched through it with distinction is only a trifle easier.

It is typical that Von Trotta, painting on her largest and most flamboyant canvas yet, tries for both. Well-worn and orthodox paths are not for her, and the sheer ambition of her project leaves her short of her target. Even Barbara Sukova's stirring and forthright portrayal of Rosa, which won her a joint share of the Cannes Best Actress prize, finally adds up to less than the sum of its parts. And this history of the time hasn't the clarity that those with less knowledge of Rosa and her time than we ought to have might justifiably have wished for.

That said, Rosa's story is in general remarkable enough to transcend these difficulties, and certainly to do a valuable job in correcting some of the more facile assumptions we may have made about a most extraordinary woman. No film in London at the moment has more serious intent, or raises more important questions about the nature of the decline and fall of European idealism in the early part of the century.

It connects with the present too, since Von Trotta clearly regards the reactionary authoritarianism of Germany today as a direct result of this failure. Her best film, The German Sisters, about the latterday revolutionaries of Germany and their tragedy, is an entirely different kind of drama. But it still has many uncomfortable parallels.

Rosa Luxembourg, of course, was no tragic idealist but a woman who believed that everything was possible without violence, even though her life ended as cruelly when she and her lover Karl Leibknecht (the Polish actor, Daniel Olbrychski) were arrested and murdered by the vigilante Freikorps on the same night in 1919.

Though she became a Communist through her identification with the Russian masses, she was an intellectual from Poland who would have been high on the hit list of both Hitler and Stalin. Her pacifism and humanism never wavered — she was a demagogic militant against militarism — and she never deserved the antipathy later heaped upon her as Red Rosa.

Von Trotta, by using many of her most forthright public speeches and contrasting them with the far greater uncertainties of her private life, offers us a woman who is hardly even an embryo feminist but a very human figure, pushing herself onwards in spite of her natural inclinations for a modest and ordinary existence.

The purposes of the film are obvious — to speak through fictionalised history to us now, with a respect for the past and some relevance to both present and future. And perhaps to prove, as Rosa was, that Socialism with a human face is still possible. Rosa Luxemburg doesn't always do that successfully — it is good at the sweep of history but less certain about pointing us towards the real landmarks in the story. But it is good to hear that, in spite of its flaws, it won the German Best Film Award and has so far been seen by as many people as it certainly would have been if Fassbinder had lived to complete his totally different conception.

CINEMA by Derek Malcolm

It has taken 44 years for Luchini Visconti's first film to obtain commercial distribution in Britain. But now that **Ossessione** is here — and in a new, complete, print — there is no denying that it was worth the wait.

The film's story may seem familiar: a drifter calls in at a seedy roadside cafe and his involvement ... proprietor leads first to the couple's disposing of the husband, then to the descent of Nemesis upon them. And the familiarity is easily explained: although the setting is northern Italy, Visconti and his writers appropriated the material of James Cain's The Postman Always Rings Twice (and the ensuing legal ramifications are partly responsible for the film's subsequent clandestine status).

Cain's short novel belongs quintessentially to the hard-boiled school of pre-war American fiction (which itself influenced Italian writers like Verga), but its assimilation here is complete. Ossessione, long (140 minutes) and expansive, is anchored unerringly in a social setting.

From the very opening, the extended travelling shot from inside the lorry which is inexorably drawing the drifter (Massimo Girotti) toward the object of his desire (Clara Calamai), the mise-en-scene is infested with an erotically charged fatalism. The action, set wholly in down-at-heel, real surroundings, seems at times to be filmed with the cold, closed eye of the newsreel; yet there are moments when it achieves an operatic intensity (literally so when excerpts from Carmen and La Traviata find their way on to the soundtrack), and the settings, like the damp beach which provides the backdrop for the lovers' last sad tryst, are chosen with an unfailing instinct for suggestive effect. Not for nothing, one feels when confronted by the camera's deep-focus compositions, had Visconti worked as assistant to Jean Renoir.

Indeed, at this remove, Ossessione can be perceived as forming a bridge between the humanist French cinema of the 1930s and the post-war neo-realist movement in Italy. But in literary terms, the analogy which the film summons up (quite apart from any plot resemblance to Therese Raquin) is not so much with Cain as with Emile Zola.

The other maestros

Edward Greenfield at Salzburg

NOW in his 79th year, Herbert von Karajan seems with every justification to grow less worried by direct rivalry. Solidly-founded rumours are flying round Salzburg that even Sir Georg Solti has been invited to conduct at the Festival, not just a concert but for a major new production of Strauss's Die Frau ohne Schatten.

Then this year Karajan's own performance of Bruckner's Eighth Symphony with the Vienna Philharmonic at the Grosses Festpielhaus was quickly followed by a performance in the same hall of the Bruckner Seventh from East Germany's leading team of Kurt Masur and the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra, making a fascinating comparison in musical style and orchestral colouring.

Karajan's performance of the Eighth, longest and greatest of the Bruckner symphonies, particularly in the Haas edition which Karajan uses, came almost as a religious event, a bank-holiday Sunday morning concert that felt like being in church. The dedication of the performance too, rapt and concentrated with extremes of power and delicacy exploited, suggested a gathering of the faithful with little scope for logical dissent.

The comparison in my mind was not just with the Leipzigers but between Karajan and the Vienna Philharmonic on this occasion and Karajan with his own Berlin Philharmonic, the orchestra he generally has used for his Bruckner performances. That it was the Vienna players this time may well have been a final spin-off of his much-publicised row with the Berlin orchestra, but he turned the differences of the Vienna sound in a positive way towards finding extra clarity.

You could well argue that this playing from the Vienna Philharmonic, though not so sensuously beautiful as that of the Berliner, was yet more authentic. There was a different note of authenticity in the playing of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra under Masur in the Seventh Symphony, a work only a little less epic in scale but here treated to a glowing, lyrical reading that brought out the direct relationships with the heavenly lengths of Schubert in the Great C major Symphony.

With decibels noticeably lower in fortissimos from every section, one missed the apocalyptic quality so remarkable with Karajan, particularly when dispensing with a baton Masur inevitably secured less tidy ensemble. With such generous lyrical warmth the ruggedness of Bruckner was still firmly established, with the Leipzig strings if anything even sweeter (if not so resonant) than those of Vienna.

Masur and the Leipzigers were far less impressive in the concerto which preceded the Bruckner symphony.

Also disappointing, if only because one always expects so much from her, was the lieder recital of Frederica von Stade accompanied by Martin Katz. This again was in the Grosses Festspielhaus, an awkward place for intimate music-making.

In recital von Stade remains a bewitching actress, not least in squibs of songs by Charles Ives and in encores. She also gave a naughty nudge to a Germanic audience by ending her scheduled programme on a Schoenberg group. In advance it seemed all too solemn, but one then found they were the cabaret songs he wrote in a relaxed mood, aping the manners (and firm tonality) of operetta.

What remained disturbing was that the singing — when you turned your eyes away from the magnetic figure — did not completely follow the acting in its inflections. Sadly the lovely voice has lost a lot of its earlier variety of tone.

BOOKS

A baroque tragedy

By Joseph Bergin

THE COUNT-DUKE OF OLIVARES: The Statesman in an Age of Decline, by J. H. Elliott (Yale, £19.95).

THE seventeenth century is notable for a peculiar species of political animal, the favourite who, thanks to the support of his royal master, wielded the powers of a prime minister to an extent hitherto unparalleled. To people who believed intensely that kings should rule as well as reign, he was a disturbing anomaly, generating discontent commensurate with the power he wielded.

Inept or capable, some of these men — Richelieu, Buckingham, Mazarin, Lerma — have always been famous, notorious or both. But there has been little place in the historical memory for Don Gaspar de Guzman (1587-1645), who effectively ruled Spain from 1622 to 1643. Even in Spain itself he has been little more than a synonym for catastrophe.

Friend and patron of writers and painters like Velazquez, and originally destined for the church, this son of a resentful junior branch of a great noble family wormed his way into power by winning the graces of Philip IV before he became king.

It was a slippery, treacherous work in which he once averted disgrace by kissing the prince's chamber pot. Once in power, though, he revealed his true colours, amazing his contemporaries by his ambition, appetite for paper-work, and capacity to manipulate his political environment.

He was also deeply convinced that Spain urgently needed reform, and even with war devouring both his time and his resources, he never abandoned his aim of producing a more tightly knit political entity. But all his reforms — social, fiscal, commercial, political — came unstuck, undermined either by social and institutional conservatism, or by fiscal and military necessity. By the end, his rule was as hated as any before.

Over twenty years he inevitably created his own regime, dominated by relatives and dependents. Gradually independent voices (wets?) died off, were sent abroad or got locked up. The great Quevedo, his erstwhile literary champion, virtually died of the harsh conditions of his confinement. The court and the government committees became mere echo chambers (as they still do) for their master's voice.

Elliott's approach to his subject is clear from his subtitle. To his credit, "statesmanship" is broadly conceived, and few studies of power politics and international diplomacy in any age evince a more sustained and acute perception of its social, institutional, and cultural determinants.

For Olivares ruled the nearest thing to a universal empire seen since the Romans. The Spanish monarchy was not a state, but a collection of territories scattered throughout Western Europe, and reaching to America and the Far East. Long feared for its power and wealth, its problems had begun accumulating even before the chain-reaction known as the Thirty Years' War finally destroyed it.

Olivares inherited them at their most acute, and his own policies badly compounded them, especially in the Netherlands, Germany and Northern Italy. Capable of astonishingly lucid analysis of foreign affairs, as of Spain's internal weaknesses, his obsession with preserving its "reputation" abroad made action and analysis, means and ends, diverge wildly. The ultimate price of wanting the best of every world was that events dictated his policies to him.

Gradually, the European conflicts became so uncontainable that they began to pull the monarchy apart. Rarely can unremitting effort have produced so many disasters; the more money and men Olivares raised to fight Spain's wars, the worse the outcome.

This tale of tragedy was all the greater because he was acutely conscious of Spain's decline, and nothing he did seemed capable of averting the final shipwreck he so often predicted. Worn out, his failures both at home and abroad virtually drove him insane at the end. Finally disgraced in 1643, he died in obscurity two years later.

In spite of resounding failure, his years in power are of the highest interest. Here was a man who managed everything, cajoled, bullied and insulted all and sundry, a slave-driver forever lamenting the lack of talent around him, who, in the darkest hours, lectured his subordinates that government was the art of making the impossible possible.

Towards the end, failure convinced him that the hand of God was against him, and, with revolt and chaos spreading to Spain itself, he summed up his career by saying, "my understanding is that I never understood anything, and now much less than ever."

Historians are generally no kinder to losers than history itself, and a great merit of this book is to make failure an important and fascinating subject of study. If there is henceforth no excuse for ignorance about the subject of Velazquez's splendid equestrian portrait, we are indebted to Professor Elliott, whose labours are summed up in this monumental but beautifully controlled and elegantly written book.



The Velazquez portrait of Don Gaspar de Guzman

Fred in transit

By R. A. Lyttleton

THE SMALL WORLD OF FRED HOYLE (Michael Joseph, £10.95).

THIS remarkably readable book is autobiographical and covers the years from its author's first childhood memories following the end of the 1914 war to the resumption of that war in 1939. During that period its author pursued an erratic upward career beginning as a rather inept pupil in a village school to the great climactic success of winning a Fellowship at a Cambridge college. Thus did he travel from the nadir of bucolic ignorance to the first rung of the ladder of zenith academic scholarship.

However, his road was by no means a smooth climb, but one punctuated by a host of diverse incidents told by the author with fascinating frankness and showing a memory for detail of such clarity that the reader almost feels he is himself reliving the experiences. So vivid are his descriptions, though these at second-hand, of his father's activities in the machine-gun corps that the reader feels he is "privileged" to have taken part in these horrors himself.

The war brought much privation, and had it not been for his mother's musical talents, it would have been dull penury itself for the Hoyles to live on the munificent five-pence a day granted for their father's daily risking his life for his(?) country. A strong musical element seems to have permeated Hoyle's forbears, and he offers evidence that it was his great-grandfather, one Ben Preston, who really wrote the famous Onward Christian Soldiers, generally attributed to Baring Gould. If this is so, generations of schoolboys should revere Preston when they strike up Lloyd George Knew My Father in the solemnity of the chapel.

Hoyle's earliest days at Eldwick school were hateful to him, particularly the curriculum, and these he countered by numerous ingenious means of truancy. The nature of these stratagems and how he filled in the hours so released are described in meticulous detail (school magazines please copy), and it was not until the age of about nine that his desire to thwart the authorities began to dwindle.

In 1926 he won a scholarship to Bingley Grammar School in a competition covering the whole of the West Riding, and he soon seemed set for a career in chemistry at a northern university. But this prospect was brought to nought by the so called "Geddes Axe" on educational funds. One wonders how many of today's teenagers have suffered from "Thatcher's Chopper"?

By 1927 Hoyle had early resolved to become a scientist, though oddly the one subject he found irksome was physics. Curiously enough this financial blow to his intended career turned out advantageously in his being provided with entrance-exam papers of former years for a group of Cambridge colleges. At first sight, these seemed far beyond him, but by dint of typically Hoylean hard work and the help of this headmaster-mathematician, our hero made his first attempt on Cambridge in 1932. It was not till 1933 that he met with success, and this led on to his tackling the full rigours of the famous Mathematical Tripos.

Although not making him a creative mathematician (Hoyle's words), it gave him great insight into the subject that served to be one of his strongest points ever after. After negotiating the Tripos, there were certain University prizes, early in 1938 it was announced that not only had Hoyle won a Smith's prize, usually shared, but placed first in order of merit. From there he went on from strength to strength, and a year or two later won a Prize Fellowship at St John's College, but unhappily its tenure was immediately interrupted by the war and more happily by marriage.

Relating as it does to his first 24 years, this brings this portion of the Hoyle saga to its end. Its 187 pages are brimful of interesting incident, all narrated in the most engaging and literary-fluent style and provide a book that anyone with the remotest interest in education or academe should enjoy reading. We can only hope that we shall be privileged to read a continuation.

A COUNTRY DIARY

INVERNESS: Most of my sightings of sparrow hawks in our garden have been during the winter when the bird-table attracts a variety of species, including siskins. The sparrow hawk will either circle above the house and suddenly rush down or — as I saw once, early in the morning — it will fly slowly up the road about ten feet off the ground, searching for an unwary bird. At one time, when the kills in the garden included greenfinches and a siskin, I debated in my mind the ethics of attracting birds to a garden where a sparrow hawk regularly hunted; but I came to no conclusion. In mid-August, near one of the garden ponds I was vaguely conscious of the chattering house sparrows in the thorn bush tight against the side of the garage, when I heard a rush of wings. As I turned, there was the briefest view of a sparrow hawk going into the bush not ten yards from me. The sparrows scattered in all directions. For a moment, there was an uneasy silence, and then a noisy clattering of wings from within the dense foliage. I presumed the sparrow hawk was dealing with its prey but, as the noise continued I began to realise something was wrong. Hesitantly I parted some of the twigs and there, only two feet from me, was an adult female sparrow hawk. The noise was her wings clattering at the window glass of the garage as she tried to escape the bush. I reached into the bush and clasped the bird from the side. It is difficult to describe the feeling of having such a bird in the hand but, after admiring the long yellow legs and strong looking bill, I released her. She soared round the house three times before drifting to the open fields. I was left wondering whether it would be back this winter — after the greenfinches and siskins.

Ray Collier

ARAUCARIA

ACROSS

9. See 15.
10. Go to Belize for daggers (5).
11. Innate catcher of girl (7).
12. Boy with right to uphold? (7).
13. Payment for ring (4).
14. Amount of traction required by 8? (5-5).
16. Listener at French city near the start (5, 2).
17. Try to sell a coin like a dandelion' (7).
19. Stray animals, etc, meant failure 9 (4, 2, 4).
22. Somewhat misleading piece of land (4).
24. Go back among trees for city given to china (7).
25. Old city given to china (7).
26. Rust in pleasure dome (5).
27. Dog left to compiler? (3, 6).

DOWN

1. As 7 instead of 3, perhaps, suitable 9? (2, 7, 6).
2. Like the sand that destroyed Ur and Raglan (8).
3. European's success among the British (5).
4. Like Rousseau's man before being upset at the Navy (4, 4).
5. Masculine wiles to suit? (6).
6. Eggs in pond as publicity for watering-place in London? (4, 5).
7. Cry with pain, coward! (6).
8. Queen first, with brief hour Thatcher did ruin, cried out at last . . . (7, 3, 6).
15, 9 . . . I'd rather have a seat than a throne! (2, 7, 3, 1, 5).
17, 18. Farms field fatal to 8: married men raised quarrels among the two (8, 8).
20. Queen mother's number's first on the stage (6).
21. China's glory (6).
22. Term 9, model among children (5).

Chess

By Leonard Barden

No. 1922

White mates in three moves, against any defence (by J. Berger, 1887). A simple-looking puzzle, but it takes an improbable-looking key move to solve it.

Solution No. 1921: White K at QB1, Q at QN2, Ns at QB7 and QB3, B at KB4, P at QB2. Black K at Q5, Ns at Q1 and KB2, B at KR4, Ps at QB3, QB4 and QB5. Mate in three.

1 Q-N7 (threat 2 N(7)-N5 ch PxN 3 NxP). If 1 . . . NxQ 2 N-K6 ch KxN 3 B-Q2. If 1 . . . N-Q3 2 N(7)-N5 ch NxN 3 Q-KN7.

AT THE other end of London from K v K at the Park Lane Hotel, two high class internationals add up to a busy summer season for the masters. Both the Commonwealth Open and the Lloyds Bank annual were at the Great Eastern Hotel by Liverpool Street.

Results at the Commonwealth highlighted the progress made by India, where significant government and industrial support has created a boom worthy of the continent where chess began. First prize went to the Icelandic grandmaster Hjartason with 8/9, followed by de Firmian (US) and Prasad (India) 7, Hebden (England), Shamkovich (US) and Thipsay (India) 6½. Prasad took the Commonwealth title ahead of all his British rivals, qualified as an IM and thus added to India's current strength which is led by the brilliant teenagers Anand and Barua. A large group of Indian and Bangladeshi experts also took part at Lloyds Bank, and they look set to become a major world chess power in the next few years.

This defeat for a grandmaster was one of the early surprises at the Commonwealth championship; the game is of theoretical significance and helped its winner to his first IM norm.

**Jonathan Ady (England) — GM Sergei Kudrin (US)
Sicilian Defence, Dragon variation (Commonwealth Open, London 1986)**

1 P-K4 P-QB4	2 N-KB3 P-Q3
3 P-Q4 PxP	4 NxP N-KB3
5 N-QB3 P-KN3	6 B-K3 B-N2
7 P-B3 N-B3	8 Q-Q2 0-0
9 B-QB4 B-Q2	10 P-KR4 P-KR4
11 0-0-0 R-B1	12 B-N3 N-K4
13 B-R6 N-B5	

An interesting choice, reverting to an older alternative than the standard exchange sacrifice 13 . . . BxB 14 QxB RxN.

14 BxN RxB	15 BxB KxB
16 P-N4	

Here 16 N-Q5 P-K4! 17 N-K2 NxN 18 QxN B-K3 19 QxQP Q-R4 gives Black active compensation for a pawn.

16 . . . PxP	17 P-R5 R-R1
18 RPxP BPxP	19 P-B4 Q-QN1

Theory is 19 . . . P-K4 20 N(4)-K2 RxR 21 RxR (Sax-Dely, 1972) which is supposed to be 'unclear', but it looks hard for Black to cope with the various threats like PxP, P-B5, QxP, or N-N3 with Q-R2.

20 RxR QxR	21 P-K5 PxP
22 PxP N-R4	23 P-K6 B-B3

If B-K1 24 Q-N5 Q-B1 25 N-Q5 increases the pressure.

24 N-B5 ch K-B3

Instead PxN? 25 Q-N5 ch loses quickly.

25 N-K3 R-B5	26 N(B3)-Q5 ch BxN?

Permits an abrupt finish. After 26 . . . K-N4! 27 NxR NxN White cannot easily take advantage of Black's promenading king and does better with 27 NxKP N-B3 28 Q-R5 ch settling for an extra pawn.

27 Q-B3 ch Resigns.

At the junior world championship in Norway, a virtually unknown Cuban, Arencibia, took the title ahead of many well-known IMs. This was the game which deposed the Russian from the lead:

**IM Ferdinand Hellers (Sweden) — Evgeny Bareev (USSR)
French Defence (Gausdal 1986)**

1 P-K4 P-K3	2 P-Q4 P-Q4
3 N-QB3 N-KB3	4 B-N5 B-K2
5 P-K5 KN-Q2	6 P-KR4 P-KR3?

White's 6 P-KR4 is dangerous to meet, but Black can survive BxB 7 PxB QxP by careful defence. As played, his pawn front is weakened without compensation.

7 B-K3 P-QB4	8 Q-N4 P-KN3
9 N-B3 N-QB3	10 PxP NxBP
11 0-0-0 P-R3	12 BxN BxB
13 N-K4 B-K2	14 Q-B4! P-QN4?

Here K-B1! is more resilient.

15 N-Q6 ch BxN	16 PxB R-QR2
17 N-Q4! K-Q2	

For if NxN? 18 QxN is an unusual fork of both rooks.

18 BxP! PxB	19 QxP ch Resigns

If KxP 20 NxP ch and 21 NxR puts White the exchange and two pawns up.

Bridge

By Rixi Markus©

HERE is a hand on which the Rumanian champion, Coriolan Neamtizu, showed the expert's ability to plan the whole play at trick one.

NORTH
♠ Q 7 3
♥ Q 10 9 8 6 2
♦ —
♣ K Q 10 4

WEST
♠ 2
♥ J 5 4 3
♦ J 9 8 4 2
♣ A 6 5

EAST
♠ A 9 5 4
♥ K 7
♦ A Q 10 7 5
♣ 8 3

SOUTH
♠ K J 10 8 6
♥ A
♦ K 6 3
♣ J 9 7 2

The bidding:

EAST	SOUTH	WEST	NORTH
1D	1S	2D	2H
3D	NB	NB	4S
NB	NB	NB	

This looks an easy hand to play in 4S, but the 4-1 trump break meant that good planning was required. Neamtzu was not aware of the bad break, of course, but he was well aware of the pitfalls after an opening diamond lead.

Declarer could afford to lose a diamond, a spade and a club, but there was also a danger of running into a club ruff. He therefore ruffed the opening lead in dummy and led the king of clubs. West won with the ace and returned a second diamond, ruffed in dummy. Declarer then led dummy's queen of spades, which held the trick, and crossed to hand with the ace of hearts to lead the king of spades. East won with the ace and cashed the ace of diamonds, but Neamtzu now had the rest of the tricks; four spade tricks, one heart, three clubs and two diamond ruffs gave him his contract.

Notice that if South allows the first diamond lead to run to his king he can be defeated: East wins with the ace and switches to a club, ducked by West; East can then win the ace of spades and collect a third-round club ruff for the fourth defensive trick. The



way Neamtzu planned the play, he had not conceded a diamond trick at an early stage and he could therefore afford to lose a club ruff. Ruffing the first round of diamonds left him in full control of the hand.

This second hand was well played by George Lengyel at rubber bridge. South dealt at game all.

NORTH
♠ A 4
♥ A 10
♦ A Q 7 3
♣ K 10 9 8 4

WEST
♠ K 10 8 6 3
♥ K 7 2
♦ 9 6 4
♣ 7 2

EAST
♠ Q 7
♥ J 9 8
♦ K 10 8 2
♣ J 6 5 3

SOUTH
♠ J 9 5 2
♥ Q 6 5 4 3
♦ J 5
♣ A Q

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
NB	NB	1C	NB
1H	NB	2D	NB
2NT	NB	3NT	NB
NB	NB		

West led a small spade to his partner's queen, and the spade return knocked out dummy's ace. Lengyel led a low diamond to his jack, which held the trick, and then played the ace and queen of clubs, overtaking with dummy's king in order to continue the suit and drive out the jack. East exited passively with his last club, and South cashed the thirteenth club to leave the following five-card ending.

NORTH
♠ —
♥ A 10
♦ A Q 7
♣ —

WEST
♠ K 10
♥ K 7
♦ 9
♣ —

EAST
♠ —
♥ J 9
♦ K 10 8
♣ —

SOUTH
♠ J 9
♥ Q 6
♦ 5
♣ —

Reading the position perfectly, Lengyel cashed the ace of diamonds and exited with the ace and another heart, forcing West to concede a spade to the jack as declarer's ninth trick.

As you will see, West can do better by retaining one spade, three hearts and one diamond in the above position. However, South can still succeed if he guesses correctly; he exits to East by playing the ace and another diamond, and East's forced heart switch will concede two heart tricks and the contract if declarer guesses the whereabouts of the jack and king correctly.

John Rodda reports from the European athletics championships

Britain rises to the lure of gold

BRITAIN'S athletics team won eight gold medals in the European athletics championships in Stuttgart — the best such achievement since 1950, when the Russian and East German athletes were not competing.

On the final day Steve Cram beat Sebastian Coe in the 1500 metres, Jack Buckner came through unexpectedly to take the 5,000 metres, and the 4x400 metres relay team crowned the British performance with a gold in the last event of the championships.

The relay team of Derek Redmond, Kris Akabusi, Brian Whittle and Roger Black, took the gold in spite of Whittle losing a shoe after some 10 yards of the third leg.

Britain won 15 medals, with the other golds going to Coe in the 800 metres, Black (400 metres), Linford Christie (100 metres), Daley Thompson (decathlon) and Fatima Whitbread (javelin) who also set a world record.

Word record for Whitbread

FATIMA WHITBREAD at last achieved in a major championships what she had been promising to do for so long before seeming always to be pipped at the final hurdle.

To make up for her disappointment in the Commonwealth Games at Edinburgh, where she was beaten by Britain's other great woman javelin thrower Tessa Sanderson, who is injured at present, Fatima took the gold in Stuttgart with a mighty throw of 76.32 metres — only slightly shorter than the massive world record throw of 77.44 metres she had set in the previous day's qualifying round.

East Germany's Petra Felke, the former world record holder, took the silver with a throw of 72.52 metres.

Black finds inspiration

ROGER BLACK, winner of the Commonwealth title, took the 400 metres with a UK record of 44.59sec, almost half a second faster than he has ever run before. It was an astonishing achievement for a man of 20 who turned from rugby football only two years ago to more disciplined running under the tutorship of Mike Smith at Southampton.

He had run very fast in the earlier rounds, and knew that his tussle was with Thomas Schoenlebe of East Germany. Black had the best of the draw in lane three, with the East German out in six — one ahead of Derek Redmond, the other Briton in the final.

The German tried to blast his way into an unassailable position by the halfway point, eased off round the bend not knowing whether he had achieved it, and then attacked again. Through it all Black remained fluid and flowing. Redmond, the man whose record he was about to take, was scraping the bottom of his energy reserves. He eventually finished fourth.

Down the straight Schoenlebe and Black, on opposite sides of the track, seemed almost stride for stride. The German weakened, although Black was unaware of his victory as he crossed the line.

One wonders what sort of speed he would have found had this been a warm summer evening. Black won the European junior title last year, and found just the inspiration needed here in a letter from David Jenkins (now living in California), the last Briton to win this title, at the age of 19, in 1971. "The letter is in my room, and has provided me with just the motivation I needed," he said.

Confident Christie

SHOWING potential which has hitherto been clouded by injury, Linford Christie became the first Briton since Jack Archer in 1946 to win the European 100 metres title.

Effectively this was a race where the old British champion, Allan Wells, handed on to the new man. Wells led the field for almost 40 metres, was suddenly overwhelmed and Christie, never a great starter, found his power and pace across the last 30 metres sufficient to take him clear in 10.15sec, ahead of Bringmann of East Germany in 10.20.

Christie has looked, for several years, a runner of great gifts but injury has clipped his speed and deprived him of the prizes. After turning to weight training and losing a stone in weight, all has gone smoothly.

He found the confidence needed for this brittle and prickly end of the sprinting world by winning the European indoor 200 metres title in Madrid at the beginning of the year, going back to the Spanish capital early in the summer to run his fastest time, 10.04sec, and then to finish second to the world leader this year, Ben Johnson of Canada, in the Commonwealth Games.

Thompson's toughest

A MARVELLOUS men's decathlon brought victory for Olympic and Commonwealth gold medallist Daley Thompson after two West Germans, Hingsen and Wentz, had given him the hardest competition of his career.

Boos from the German crowd, who were blindly supporting their favourites, only seemed to make Thompson more determined.

After trailing earlier to his old rival, Juergen Hingsen, after the discus, Thompson summoned up all his reserves of energy for a carefully paced 1,500 in 4min 26sec, 12 seconds faster than his performances at the Los Angeles Olympics.

Earlier, he opened the day with his fastest ever 110 metres hurdles in 14.04sec. His final score of 8,811 was 36 points off the world record. "It's been a rough two days, the hardest I've had," he said.

Judy Simpson took the bronze medal and achieved a Commonwealth and British record in the heptathlon, achieving personal best performances in five of the seven events — a remarkable piece of peaking from her and her coach, John Anderson. But she now needs to work on the 200 metres, where she can gain a lot of points, before she can hope to cope with the East Germans — who were not fully represented here — at the Olympic Games in Seoul.

Final medals table

	G	S	B
USSR	11	13	12
East Germany	11	10	8
Great Britain	8	2	5
Bulgaria	3	4	1
Italy	2	6	2
West Germany	2	4	5
France	1	1	2
Spain	1	0	2
Czechoslovakia	1	0	0
Norway	1	0	0
Portugal	1	0	0
Switzerland	1	0	0
Sweden	0	1	2
Romania	0	1	1
Finland	0	1	0
Netherlands	0	0	2
Poland	0	0	1

Whittle's soft shoe shuffle

THE 4x400 metres relay team had used Whittle in the heat on Saturday to save Derek Redmond's strength but on Sunday there was no doubt as to whether Phil Brown's hamstring would hold out in the fierceness of the combat. Frank Dick, the Director of Coaching, made a decision to withdraw him only an hour before the team went into the arena.

Redmond was used on the soft first leg, Kriss Akabusi, a member of the silver-medal squad from Los Angeles, ran a gutsy second stage and was just overhauled before the change where Krylov, a Russian, caught Whittle's shoe pulling down the heel under his foot. The Scot just kicked it off and ran.

Whittle's thoughts were totally single minded: getting round in a position which left Roger Black with a chance. That was done magnificently for the European Champion slotted in behind Ralph Leubke, of Germany, the second fastest man in Europe. Fifty thousand Germans thought that they were going to get the best possible finale to their championship but the Briton kept his cards close to his chest until the final bend, a favourite place for the British to show their hand, and it brought the team home in first place in just under three minutes.

The men's sprint relay squad won the bronze medal — the first occasion Britain has taken a prize at this discipline in the European Championships.

Buckner in from the cold

JACK BUCKNER, so often a blurred figure behind the Coe-Cram-Ovett syndrome of British running, emerged as a power in his own right when he struck for home with 100 metres remaining to win the 5,000 metres title in 13min 10.15sec, four seconds faster than he's ever run before.

All the talk about Steve Ovett's health was true. He dropped out with five laps to go, always trailing at the back of the field and feeling the muscle pain which his doctor said would come after his recent viral infection. But his presence for seven laps must have made a contribution to Britain's success.

When the Italians had done their bit of front running it was the turn of Tim Hutchins of Britain, taking over at the 4,000 metre mark. Hutchings pushed in a lap of 62 seconds, then another of 60 seconds but Buckner was comfortable with it and so too was Mei, the 10,000 metres champion. The rest were struggling. At the bell Hutchings pushed on but he had never quite got to grips and the spring in the stride came from Buckner and the Italians.

After the Italians' performance earlier in the week where they took first, second and third places in the 10,000 metres and Buckner's lack of finishing power, it looked, starkly, like a double winner coming up. But to everyone's astonishment, and that includes Buckner, the British runner, with those tiny fists punching the air, sped past Mei down the straight.

Hutchings got the bronze as he did in the Commonwealth Games.

Coe finds the missing piece

THE missing piece of the Sebastian Coe jigsaw was found and fitted in the Neckar Stadium. Amid those Olympic gold medals for the 1,500 metres and his nine world records, he has never achieved a major championship victory at 800 metres, the distance at which he has been the world record holder for the past five years. The omission has niggled to the point of barely controlled obsession, but now that is removed.

It was an all-British occasion, Coe winning in 1min 44.05sec, Tom McKean finishing second in 1:44.61 and Steve Cram, suffering with calf muscle trouble, taking the bronze in a handsome 1:44.8.

This time there was no illness, no injury and very nearly no error for Coe. He found the front just past the midway point down the final home straight, taking McKean with the sort of full-blown speed that he had promised. Cram did all he could then slipped away from the celebrations and the pictures to have ice packs wrapped on his damaged leg.

Zola Budd played the part of pacemaker for an eastern European assault in the 3,000 metres but in the end was swept aside to be deprived of even the bronze medal by Yvonne Murray of Scotland.

Cram's express performance

THE British are at their best when they have their backs to the wall. Steve Cram had never been so depressed in his life as he was last Thursday after losing the 800 metres to Sebastian Coe. It was not so much the defeat that got him down as the mess of his strategy for these championships.

He had originally decided not to concentrate on the 800, but his prime form in the Commonwealth Games had convinced him otherwise. "I was sidetracked into racing Coe when I should have concentrated on my prime event, the 1,500 metres — that is what I really came for," he said.

But it was all such a dawdle for the opening laps that Cram found himself in front trying to save himself for that burst across the final 300 metres. It seemed that everything was going Coe's way, with the Olympic champion ready for that finishing surge across the last 100 metres — a re-run of Thursday night in other words.

John Gladwin, the third Briton in this event, at last pumped some heart into the running. Cram took it up in the last lap as expected, Coe followed, a little late, up the back straight, but with all those reserves there should not have been any trouble. But there was Cram going like an express and before the runners were out of the final bend it was clear that he had given Coe the slip.

Cram's run-in looked powerful and his time for the final lap of 51sec was the best athletic comeback since that of Coe. As Cram crossed the line his sigh of relief said it all.

SOCCER RESULTS

FOOTBALL LEAGUE — FIRST DIVISION: Coventry 1, Everton 1; Liverpool 2, Arsenal 1; Luton 0, Newcastle 0; Manchester U 0, Charlton 1; Norwich 4, Southampton 3; Nottm Forest 1, Watford 1; Oxford Utd 0, West Ham 0; QPR 1, Aston Villa 0; Sheffield W 2, Chelsea 0; Tottenham 1, Manchester C 0; Wimbledon 1, Leicester 0. Leading positions: 1, Tottenham (p3, 7pts); 2, Liverpool (p3, 7pts); 3, West Ham (p3, 7pts).

SECOND DIVISION: Birmingham 1, Derby 1; Crystal Palace 1, Stoke 0; Grimsby 0, Bradford C 0; Leeds 0, Sheffield U 1; Millwall 1, Barnsley 0; Oldham 0, Hull 0; Plymouth 1, Reading 0; Portsmouth 1, Ipswich 1; Shrewsbury 0, Blackburn 1; Sunderland 1, Brighton 1; WBA 1, Huddersfield 0. Leading positions: 1, Birmingham (p3, 7pts); 2, Hull (p3, 7pts); 3, Oldham (p3, 7pts).

THIRD DIVISION: Bournemouth 2, Newport 1; Bristol R 1, Bolton 0; Bury 1, Chester 1; Carlisle 2, York 2; Chesterfield 3, Walsall 2; Darlington 2, Mansfield 1; Doncaster 2, Brentford 0; Fulham 0, Blackpool 1; Gillingham 1, Bristol C 1; Port Vale 1, Rotherham 1; Wigan 0, Middlesbrough 2. Sunday: Swindon 1, Notts Co 2. Leading positions: 1, Bristol R (p2, pts6); 2, Notts County (p2, pts6); 3, York (p2, pts4).

FOURTH DIVISION: Aldershot 1, Wolverhampton 2; Burnley 1, Scunthorpe 0; Cambridge U 1, Halifax 0; Cardiff 0, Rochdale 0; Crewe 1, Hereford 2; Orient 1, Peterborough 0; Preston 2, Swansea 1; Wrexham 1, Lincoln 1. Friday: Colchester 1, Exeter 1; Southend 1, Hartlepool 1; Stockport 0, Tranmere 2. Sunday: Northampton 1, Torquay 0. Leading positions: 1, Cambridge (p2, pts6); 2, Lincoln (p2, pts4); 3, Tranmere (p2, pts4).

FINE FARE SCOTTISH LEAGUE — PREMIER DIVISION: Aberdeen 2, Dundee 0; Clydebank 1, Falkirk 2; Dundee U 3, St Mirren 0; Hamilton 0, Motherwell 3; Hibernian 1, Hearts 3. Sunday: Rangers 1, Celtic 0. Leading positions: 1, Dundee U (p5, pts9); 2, Aberdeen (p5, pts7); 3, Celtic (p5, pts7).

FIRST DIVISION: Brechin 0, Forfar 1; Dunfermline 2, East Fife 4; Montrose 1, Airdrie 2; Morton 0, Dumbarton 3; Partick 0, Clyde 0; Queen of South 2, Kilmarnock 1. Leading positions: 1, Airdrie (p5, pts8); 2, Dunfermline (p5, pts8); 3, Queen of South (p5, pts7).

SECOND DIVISION: Albion 1, Alloa 2; Ayr 2, Arbroath 1; East Stirling 0, Cowdenbeath 1; Raith R 2, Queen's Park 2; Stenhousemuir 0, Meadowbank 1; Stirling 1, St Johnstone 0; Stranraer 2, Berwick 1. Leading positions: 1, Stirling A (p4, pts8); 2, Alloa (p4, pts8); 3, Raith (p4, pts6).

Final Test washed out

RAIN washed out the final day's cricket in the last Test against New Zealand at The Oval, leaving the match drawn but New Zealand victor in the series, having won one match.

England finally seemed to have put themselves in a good position to square the series, scoring 388 for 5 declared reply to New Zealand's total of 287, of which opener John Wright got 119. England's innings saw a majestic 131 from former captain David Gower and 121 from his successor Mike Gatting — a welcome return to form for both men. In addition, returned Test exile Ian Botham, who took three wickets in New Zealand's innings, including one with his first ball, clubbed 59 not out off the New Zealand attack in an awesome display of power hitting.

Wright was declared Man of the Match, Gower was voted England's Man of the Series and Hadlee won the award for New Zealand.

John Player League Table

	P	W	L	NR	T	Pts
Hampshire (3)	14	10	3	1	0	42
Essex (1)	15	10	4	1	0	42
Northamptonshire (6)	15	9	4	2	0	40
Nottinghamshire (12)	14	9	4	1	0	38
Sussex (2)	14	8	6	0	0	32
Somerset (10)	15	7	6	2	0	32
Yorkshire (6)	14	7	5	1	1	32
Kent (10)	14	6	5	2	1	30
Warwickshire (6)	15	5	6	2	2	28
Glamorgan (14)	14	6	7	1	0	26
Lancashire (14)	14	6	7	1	0	26
Derbyshire (4)	14	6	8	0	0	24
Middlesex (12)	15	4	7	3	1	24
Leicestershire (6)	15	5	9	1	0	22
Surrey (17)	14	4	7	2	1	22
Worcestershire (16)	15	5	10	0	0	20
Gloucestershire (6)	15	2	11	2	0	12

1985 positions in brackets.